Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-92-115
Monday
15 June 1992

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Croatia

Belgrade radio reports that in response to the situation in Serbia, General Philippe Morillon, deputy commander of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] Staff, stated that "an agreement has been reached to deploy the UN and EC obeservers and the Krajina militia on the demarcation within the so-called pink zones during the first stage of assuming the responsibility." He also added that "full assumption of responsibility" by UNPROFOR is expected to take place around 20 June.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

TANJUG reports that an agreement for "lifting the blockade of Sarajevo airport" has been reached between UN representatives and the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency on 13 June. The UN representatives "accepted the proposal by the republican presidency that the artillery be moved 20 km away from the airport." Radovan Karadzic, president of the Presidency of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, sent a message to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus Ghali calling on him "to exercise pressure on the Croatian and Muslim sides to confirm" the proclaimed cease-fire. Zagreb radio reports that the cease-fire in Sarajevo "is not holding."

Yugoslavia

Kosovo—The Command of the Pristina Corps issued a statement on 13 June in connection with an armed attack on the Djakovica barracks. "It is our assesssment that the attack was carefully planned and carried out as a Catholic mass was being celebrated on the occasion of St. Anthony's Day in a church situated near the barracks," according to TANJUG. Tirana radio reports that "a group of Serbian soldiers entered the Gjakove Catholic Church...during a religious ceremony...and began to shoot at ethnic Albanians." The Information Center of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance stated: "There is fear that a massacre has been planned against the unprotected Albanian population."

Czechoslovakia

The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) postponed its 14 June meeting with the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) scheduled to discuss the formation of a new federal government. According to CSTK, the HZDS delayed the talks because a session of the party's steering committee had run long. In an interview with Prague television, ODS Chairman Vaclav Klaus said that he was "surprised" by the cancellation of the meeting, adding that he saw "no reason whatsoever" for postponing the talks.

Hungary

Budapest radio reports that Jozsef Torgyan, chairman of the Smallholders' Party, "has asked for the help of foreign governments in defending Hungarian multi-party democracy and constitutionality." In a letter sent to foreign representatives, he stated that an "anti-constitutional attack" was carried out against him by "force" and with the "involvement of armed units." The Independent Smallholders' Party and the National Security Office deny involvement in the attack.

President Berisha Leaves for United States

AU1206190492 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Text] Sali Berisha, president of the Republic of Albania, left with his wife, Liri Berisha, for a working visit to the United States at 1730 on 12 June. Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi and Minister of Trade and Foreign Economic Cooperation Artan Hoxha are accompanying him.

Pjeter Arbnori, People's Assembly presidency chairman; Dr. Aleksander Meksi, Council of Ministers' chairman; Tomor Malasi and Shaqir Vukaj, People's Assembly deputy chairmen; Bashkim Kopliku and Rexhep Uka, Council of Ministers' deputy chairmen; deputies, other members of the government, representatives of political parties and associations, etc., were at Rinas Airport to see him off. Christopher Hill, secretary of the U.S. Embassy in Tirana, the charge d'affaires of the Italian Embassy in Tirana, the Russian Federation ambassador, the UNDP representative, etc., were also present.

President Sali Berisha honored the national flag and passed by the honor guard, accompanied by Pjeter Arbnori and Aleksander Meksi.

Deputy Minister Afezolli on Trade With U.S.

AU1506084692 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 31 May pp 1-2

[Pellumb Bataj interview with Naske Afezolli, deputy minister of foreign trade and economic relations; place and date not given: "Albania Heads Toward Its Natural Allies"]

[Text] From radio and television announcements, we have learned that the agreement on trade relations between the Republic of Albania and the U.S. Government was signed in Washington. Our journalist Pellumb Bataj interviewed the deputy minister of foreign Trade and Economic Relations Mr. Naske Afezolli, who signed the agreement on behalf of the Albanian Government.

[Bataj] How does the American side judge the agreement between Albania and the United States?

[Afezolli] The congratulations expressed at the ceremonial act of signing by Mrs. Carla Hills, top representative of the U.S. president and of the Trade Department, who signed the agreement on behalf of the American side, were fairly significant. She said that signing this agreement, which includes the Most Favored Nation Status, will help to expand trade ties between our two countries and stressed that this demonstrates the backing of the United States for the democratic reforms toward a market economy in Albania. She congratulated both delegations on the work done in record time, thanked our delegation for its constructive spirit, and underlined that this agreement, besides the trade concessions, will strengthen economic links between the two countries and the friendship between the two nations.

[Bataj] Can you explain what this agreement signed in Washington means and what new features it will bring to the relations between our countries?

[Afezolli] First, I would like to emphasize that the Albanian people for the first time after more than half a century see themselves very close to friendly and mutually beneficial relations with the American people. After about five decades of isolation, history is at last opening to Albania ways of cooperating with the most democratic and developed country in the world. Before I explain the content of the agreement, I would like to point out that the talks in Washington, according to the normal procedures of the U.S. Government, were at first only to initial the agreement, while the signing was to be left for a second stage. However, as a result of the understanding and very constructive attitude on the American side, we succeeded in overcoming this period in a very short time, as the leader of the U.S. delegation emphasized. This best shows the desire and readiness of the United States to help the democratic reforms in Albania as soon as possible. What remains for the agreement to be legally recognized by both countries is only the approval by the U.S. Congress and our parliament.

This agreement has to do with three major issues: MFN Status, reciprocity, and the protection of intellectual property. MFN Status is related to the treatment of Albanian products imported to the United States under no less favorable conditions than those of other countries and vice-versa. This will be followed by an immediate increase of interest on the part of all American enterprises in importing from Albania. Thus, this status literally favors the export of Albanian goods to the United States. MFN status assures preference in customs duties, forms of payment for imports, rules for imports, the laws and regulations affecting the selling of products, domestic taxes, quantity restrictions, the grant of licenses, etc.

Reciprocity ensures the same treatment for goods and services produced in Albania to American products in the United States and vice-versa. Reciprocity also covers the domestic taxes and expenses, regulations related to sales, transportation and distribution, technical trade regulations, etc.

The protection and strengthening of the right to intellectual property assures the safety of authors' rights, trademarks, licenses, plans for printed circuits with semiconductors, and other trade secrets. All these subjects create "intellectual property," but each one is unique in its characteristics and material nature.

All these issues covered in this agreement make a strong bridge of cooperation between two countries that will facilitate trade and strengthen economic ties. As Carla Hills underlined, this agreement demonstrates the backing of the United States for democratic reforms in the Albanian market.

It must be pointed out that the elements of this agreement have great importance not only for traders but also

for American investors. As it emerged during the talks, serious investors are very sensitive and this agreement alone is the key that offers them guarantees for mutually beneficial investments. This is directly linked with the removal of all discrimination in customs and sales to Albania and opens the way for all kinds of economic and trade cooperation in all fields of mutual interest.

Finally, we can say that this document has great economic and political importance for current relations with the United States.

Two other documents were signed alongside this agreement. The first is about opportunities and readiness for cooperation between the two governments in the field of trade, investments in tourism, and travel between our two countries. The second involves creating a common trade commission, which will watch the development of trade and economic cooperation between our two countries.

Government Ready To Welcome Foreign Investors

AU1306190292 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 13 Jun 92

[Text] Albania is prepared to welcome foreign investors, Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi declared to ATA reporter Aleksander Milo. Our government is ready for conventions on chrome in improving its technology, extraction, and processing to increase the production of ferro chrome in Burrel. The prime minister stressed that the government has draft programs that may be financed by foreigners even for copper and petroleum research at sea. Meanwhile, preparations have begun to put up for auction the packages for underground research and improvment of technology in the existing petroleum fields.

Mr. Meksi assessed energy and tourism as a large potential source of income for foreign firms and investors. In this regard, he mentioned the project to build the hydroelectricpower stations in Bushat and Vjose River and undertakings with foreigners to invest in developing tourism in July through a master plan with the European Bank for Construction and Development. He said that we will soon begin to build hotels in Tirana and Durres. Construction sites have been established to set up tourist villages during August and September.

The Albanian prime minister told the ATA reporter that the relevant institutions and ministries are studying tenders for restructuring Rinas Airport and building the North-South and Via-Egnatia highways. Draft ideas are ready, and the financing process alone is expected to begin cooperation. He stressed that ministries should intensify their work to perfect legislation that enables and guarantees foreign investments to create joint ventures in agriculture and the food industry.

Mr. Meksi stated that soon a number of foreign large private banks will open their branches in our country. The prime minister expressed appreciation for the technical assistance given to Albania to enable these new processes to begin and expressed the great commitment and continuous efforts of the Albanian Government to compile the necessary legal staff to encourage expeditious investments and guarantee and assure foreign investment.

Diplomat Interviewed on Bugs at Foreign Ministry

AU1306141492 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Interview with Deputy Abdi Baleta by Arben Karapici in Tirana on 12 June—recorded]

[Text] [Karapici] As we have been acquainted with the television interview by Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi broadcast last night, surveillance apparatus was detected in his office. Of course, this is a grave act of diversion against our country's democratic government and democracy itself. Availing myself of the opportunity to participate in the international conference on human rights, I decided to talk with Mr. Abdi Baleta, deputy and member of the parliamentary Commission for Defense, Public Order, and ShIK [National Intelligence Service]. Mr. Baleta, I am asking you not only as deputy, but first as a senior and experienced diplomat: When and under what circumstances will this police surveillance apparatus be installed at the Foreign Ministry?

[Baleta] I, too, consider as an acute and distressing problems those presented by Mr. Serreqi on television last night. I understand quite well his concern and shock, at a time when work has begun at a ministry to perform such an important mission trying to make a change badly expected and sought by the people, unexpectedly bugs were discovered in the office. Thus, it is like Watergate at the Foreign Ministry of Albania. This is not strange. Situations like Watergate have existed even in our homes. I am convinced that I am being surveilled even today, at home and everywhere, because if the bugs have not worked scientifically, I think that the accompanying wind of investigation chiefs [word indistinct] have filled us with bugs. This assumes the dimensions of a scandal at the Foreign Ministry. I know that [word indistinct] to be recorded. Not, at present when they found them, but I can say that when I returned from New York in 1982 and I was reporting to the relevant directorate about the work I had done there, etc., immediately the Chief of Protocol, who at that time was Jovan Andoni, was called to place the microphone on the table. He then plugged in the recording apparatus. This was done legally. I asked him: Why are you doing such a thing that has not been done before?. He said that the same procedure is now followed at the Party Central Committee, the Council of Ministers—just for putting the technique into operation. It did not make any impression on me. What comes out of this? It was found out that there was a room near the chief of protocol's office, from which talks with foreigners were recorded. I am convinced that this has been a resistance alone. The half-legal surveillance system at

the Foreign Ministry for which they have been working hard on is now completely legal. Perhaps [word indistinct] that there is too probable that the technicians who have installed it [words indistinct] for working people at the Foreign Ministry have wailed or not for [word indistinct] that may be in every office, on every table. It seems that a very scrutinized control should start there. Another question arises: Is this surveillance system perhaps governed from this ministry alone? Was it extended to top high-level offices, or was it installed in any office that perhaps worked for some foreigner? These are problems that face us today. There is no doubt that the lines, often prohibited, could very easily be connected with the Interior Ministry, [word indistinct], the Central Committee, foreign embassies abroad. We were informed that those abroad knew things more quickly than we do in Albania. That is why I think that Mr. Serreqi has taken it seriously [word indistinct] and other state mechanisms that [word indistinct]. I have the opinion that we should contribute to better clarify this question, [former Foreign Minister] Mr. Malile [word indistinct] and has used it to survey others, even (?extending) it outside the room, where the surveillance apparatus was, the [word indistinct] of Mr. Malile not to climb the stairs. [Former Foreign Minister] Mr. Kapllani should be responsible for and give explanations about this, the followers of Mr. Malile in the post of foreign minister, Mr. Bocka and protocol chiefs including here Kostaq Cifliku whom I know, despite the fact that he has been the most [word indistinct] of this apparatus. He should say the truth as he knows it, without fearing to say where his responsibility stands, but at the same time without sparing also the others who might have given him orders and instructions to manipulate this apparatus. I believe that this sensational Watergate at the Foreign Ministry will deal a heavy blow to the surveillance psychosis in Albanian services, Albanian or foreign [word indistinct].

[Karapici] Thank you, Mr. Baleta.

People's Assembly Approves Decree on Labor Code

AU1106121692 Tirana ATA in English 0922 GMT 11 Jun 92

[Text] Tirana, June 11 (ATA)—On June 10 the People's Assembly endorsed and reviewed the Articles from 47 to 59 of the draft law on the organization and functioning of local power. They contain the competences of the chairman of the presidency of the district council and the functioning of the district council. In the end, the draft law for the organization and functioning of local power was endorsed in general.

On June 10, the Chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly Pjeter Arbnori submitted a decree to the president of the Republic for amendments to the Labour Code. This decree was endorsed by majority of ballots. Then the Assembly went on working in parliamentary groups.

Implications of UN Sanctions for Balkans Viewed

AU1306182792 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 5 Jun 92 p 3

[Emil Vasilev commentary: "Should We Expect A Balkan Storm?]

[Text] The UN sanctions are not likely to disconcert the Serbian national extremists, and it is not likely that the measures of the UN Security Council would achieve an immediate end to the war in former Yugoslavia. The reports from Belgrade confirm the forecast that the positions of the Serbian-Montenegrin political and military leadership have even more hardened despite the diplomatic compliments.

From the propaganda point of view, Serbia has an undoubted asset. The sanctions are aimed against this country, rather than against all other participants in the conflict, Croatia in particular, which plays a certain role in the escalation of the conflict. This shows a "double-standard" approach that makes it difficult to convince public opinion.

An analysis of the situation shows that the sanctions are likely to affect the country's economy to a major extent but without totally ruining it. Serbia's reserves are sufficient to prevent the Army from being paralyzed. On the contrary, there is a real danger that the war may be extended to Kosovo and Macedonia. Whoever knows the Serbs realizes that Belgrade is resolved to fight until achieving the best possible outcome for itself. In such a case, it cannot be excluded that Albania, Turkey, and Greece may intervene. This, however, means a Balkan crisis that is likely to cause an explosion in Europe. The conflict is not likely to expand beyond the European borders; however, this is no consolation to us. Such a war would be a very serious danger to our national security.

The voices urging a military intevention are increasing. This is hardly a sensible solution, despite the fact that it seems radical. It would inevitably lead to a drastic escalation of the conflict.

Therefore, the most sensible approach is a strict observance of sanctions while the neighboring countries who are affected by the embargo should be compensated for their losses. The main chance is to provoke an internal revolt, or perhaps a coup against the self-destructive Serbian upper echelon. Such a process may be slow, but it is quite possible.

The most correct approach would be to conduct negotiations under the aegis of the CSCE, in my view. A military intervention should be attempted only as a last resort.

Nevertheless, another option exists, namely that the Serbs, after having practically established the new Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, halt the destruction. In such a case, the proposal that the sanctions should be extended for the next five years would be doomed to failure. From an objective point of view, regardless of how unwilling certain people may be to accept this fact, Serbia has always been one of the central figures in European history.

OSD Platform Adopted, Aims To Unite Left-Wing

AU1206145992 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 8 Jun 92 p 8

[DUMA report: "The Program on National Reconciliation Is the Major Task of the Social Democracy Alliance]

[Text] A platform of national consensus that will prevent a cold civil war and halt the escalation of violence—that is the priority objective of the Social Democracy Alliance [OSD]. It is one of the forthcoming tasks which the OSD has set for itself in its political resolution adopted at the First OSD Conference, held on 6 and 7 June 1992 at the Sofia National Palace of Culture.

The OSD deputies intend to submit a bill on most strictly sanctioning those who propagate revenge, hostility, and division of the people as part of the OSD Program On National Reconciliation. The report read by Aleksandur Tomov, which was approved as a political document of the conference, maps out further points of the future program, such as: the commitment to open all archives of the last half century and to halt the destruction of monuments dedicated to historical figures and the arbitrary changing of street names and names of inhabited settlements; the commitment to restore the memory of all those who were unjustifiably sentenced or repressed after 1944, to review the cases of the People's Court defendants, and to accurately and carefully conduct the legal procedures in trials related to the economic crisis; and the commitment to create an atmosphere of tolerance for all ethnic and religious communities. The OSD shall not support any bills aimed at restricting human rights on account of political convictions in the past and involvement in the former power structures.

We propose a better alternative for the economic reform, the delegates at the conference stated. The chief objective of this reform should be to halt the disintegration of Bulgarian industry and gradually to revive the country's production. The OSD opposes the policy of the state's gradual withdrawal from economic management and the Union of Democratic Forces' [SDS] total neglect of the state-owned industrial enterprises.

The economic reform in our country is going the wrong way, according to the OSD members. The dramatic drop in production, the extent of the growing rate of unemployment, the difficult situation of private business, and the unrealistic 1992 budget cannot solely be attributed to the shortcomings of the past. Over 70 percent of Bulgarian citizens are living below minimum subsistence level, while no less than 15-20 percent of the pensioners and unemployed are hardly able to survive as a result of the erroneous economic and social policy conducted by the currently ruling political formation. The OSD

intends to propose an alternative to the methods of transition to the market economy, the resolution points out.

According to the OSD, the state is obliged to assume its responsibilities in the cultural sphere. For the first time in Bulgaria's centuries-old existence, the state refuses to support our national intelligentsia. The total system of creative arts and the Bulgarian people's opportunities of developing their own culture are threatened, according to the OSD members. Hence, the budget should guarantee subsidies for the needs of the cultural sector, and a new, updated system for the financing of cultural projects should be established.

The OSD intends to promote cooperation with the left-wing and centrist forces in order to halt the disintegration of fundamental state and social structures.

Mr. Tomov's report devotes particular attention to relations with the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party [BSDP]. We are not trying to give advice to anyone, but considering the current state of affairs in our country, the necessity of rallying the left-wing non-communist forces should be the chief task prevailing over the criteria of the past. The policy of primitive anticommunism, as well as any other form of hostility is an obstacle to the straightforward assessment of existing realities. There is no other option for us, and we shall proceed along the path of uniting the left-wing forces, without waiting for anyone, the OSD declared.

The OSD will strive for close contacts with the representatives of the worldwide and European non-communist left-wing forces. It is in cooperation with them that the OSD intends to pursue the quest for a left-wing alternative in promoting the development of our contemporary world.

Dertliev Reelected BSDP Chairman at Congress

AU1406133592 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 14 Jun 92

[Text] On 14 June at the 39th Congress of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party [BSDP], Petur Dertliev was re-elected BSDP chairman by 395 votes. Some 118 delegates supported the alternative candidacy of Anton Antonov. Stefan Radoslavov was elected BSDP chief secretary by 399 votes.

Petur Dertliev spoke at the congress. Some friends think that we are meek Christians. We are humane, loving, and good people. We shall remain as such. I have devoted my life to this party. Now, my greatest concern is whether I will justify your confidence. We shall honestly speak about everything, because this is how new ideas and a new party are born, the BSDP chairman said.

National Assembly Passes New Pensions Act

AU1206174592 Sofia BTA in English 1610 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Text] Sofia, June 12 (BTA)—After two-week debates today parliament passed on second reading the amendments to the Pensions Act. It changed little the wording proposed by the government.

The amendments introduce a new mechanism of calculating pensions aimed to equalize pensions granted to employees, who held identical positions for identical periods of time, regardless of the retirement date. Pensions will be calculated on the basis of the "social pension," whose size is to be fixed by the government. Pensions are expected to rise by an average of 170 leva (the current exchange rate is 23 leva per U.S. dollar). Throughout the debates MP's of the opposition Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) insisted on a higher rise. In response, government experts claimed that the amendments complied with the national budget. Participants in the patriotic war of 1944-45 and volunteers disabled in UN peace-keeping operations will receive certain compensations.

The length of service requirement for certain categories of employees, who enjoyed the privilege to retire earlier due to hazardous labour conditions, has been increased by two or three years. According to a World Bank mission study, however, Bulgaria is one of the countries with a relatively large number of pensioners under 50 years of age.

The BSP raised many objections to a clause proposed by Aleksandur Yordanov, floor leader of the parliamentary group of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS). According to it, the term for which a person has held a leading full-time post in the constituent bodies of the ex-Communist, now Socialist, Party or its satellite organizations, does not qualify as length of service. According to an expert of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, the clause does not rule out the possibility of these people to receive social benefits when in need.

At a sitting this week Nora Ananieva, floor leader of the parliamentary BSP, announced that immediately after the amendments pass, the BSP will appeal to the Constitutional Court to rule on the constitutionality of the clause.

According to experts of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, pensioners in this country are extremely hard-up. Many are receiving pensions below the poverty line. At the same time, the amendments to the Pensions Act do not take into account additional incomes some pensioners will be receiving after owners get back formerly nationalized land and other property.

Movement for Democratic Slovakia Postpones Talks

LD1306234492 Prague CSTK in English 2024 GMT 13 Jun 92

[Text] Bratislava June 13 (CSTK)—The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) today announced it will not meet Sunday with the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) for scheduled talks on the formation of a new federal government. The talks will be rescheduled once the HZDS agrees on a new date with the ODS.

The HZDS press center told the Slovak News Agency that the reason for the postponement is that today's meeting of the HZDS steering committee will continue on Sunday. The center said the HZDS had originally hoped it would be able to shorten the committee session to just one day, though it was originally scheduled for two days.

HZDS Chairman Vladimir Meciar said his movement will not support Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel's candidacy. The decision was made by the HZDS steering committee, made up of representatives from the movement's district offices. According to Meciar, Havel is not the appropriate type of politician to serve as president.

Asked if he realized that not supporting Havel is interpreted by the rest of the world as a lack of support for the principles Havel personifies, Meciar replied: "I don't think we're in conflict with the principles that Mr. President personifies. We see him in his contradictions." He added that Havel has been responsible for the shortcomings of the Czechoslovak state over the last two years and that no one has the right to view Havel only positively. "We definitely feel that for developments in the near future, the president is not the appropriate type of politician to fill this post. Don't threaten us with the world. When someone is picked in Germany or in France, they don't go to Czechoslovakia to ask about it. This is our business," Meciar said.

When asked if the HZDS would propose a candidate in place of Havel, Meciar said: "That is a matter for the Czech political scene, that's what we agreed with the ODS."

He expressed a lack of trust in the two rounds of talks held so far with the ODS, describing them as "misinterpreted."

"What Klaus is doing is political propaganda, not talks on forming a government", Meciar said. "Things aren't happening the way they reach the public and a big part of the talks, in which the ODS wouldn't look good, is kept secret."

"We still have patience," he added. "Tomorrow we will communicate this patience as well as that tomorrow we are still willing to tolerate it—the information interference that (the ODS) is causing—but not anymore from the day after tomorrow."

According to Meciar, it was the ODS who announced in Brno on Monday that it had a mandate to dissolve the state. "If (the ODS) doesn't want to do that, it's only at the insistence of the Slovak side, because we don't have that kind of mandate and neither do they".

Putting together the new federal bodies "can be done very quickly," he said. "For instance, today's government can be replaced by a new one." Meciar said the talks on forming the new government are being intentionally dramatized. According to him, the HZDS has not prepared any scenarios that assume the breakup of the Czechoslovak federation into two independent states. If the Czechoslovak federation remains in its current form, Meciar added, there will be only one partner for foreign countries "and it won't be Slovakia."

He pointed out that the ODS "denies" Slovakia membership in international organizations. "But that's not an insurmountable condition that would prevent the creation of a federal government."

Klaus Reacts to Postponement

LD1406201592 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1730 GMT 14 Jun 92

[Interview with Civic Democratic Party Chairman Vaclav Klaus by unidentified reporter; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Mr. Chairman, how has the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] responded to yesterday's decision by the Movement for Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] to postpone the next round of the talks?

[Klaus] If you will allow me, I will read to you our statement, which has just been issued.

First, we are surprised at the cancellation of today's negotiations between the ODS and the HZDS in Bratislava, whatever the explanation on the Slovak side. We do not wish to speculate on the reasons for the cancellation, and unequivocally state that on our part we see no reason whatsoever for a postponement. The postponement evolved without the knowledge or approval of the ODS chairman and leadership.

Second, and in contrast, the ODS regards speed, efficacy, nonprocrastination, and nonprolongation of negotiations to be the only way toward either preserving a functioning common state or finding an alternative solution. We are ready for the negotiations.

Third, having said this, and having insisted on talks, we certainly do not accept the interpretations recently put forward by HZDS representatives of the progress and purpose of the talks held up to now. They said we were using the talks as political propaganda, that we were exceeding our mandate, that we were ill-prepared for the talks, that it was our side which was breaking up the common state, that when we did not agree on the talks' agenda we were guilty of one-sided propaganda, and that we did not offer anything constructive.

In particular, it is this last objection which is absolutely unacceptable to us. While looking for a satisfactory solution, we went to the very limit of what is acceptable to the Czech people and what is practically feasible. I am convinced that our partners at the talks are well aware of this.

Fourth, the negotiations cannot be delayed and prolonged. As HZDS representatives are to meet President Vaclav Havel in Prague on Monday, there is no reason to miss this opportunity to continue the talks prior to, or after, the meeting. We are ready.

Fifth and finally, the greatest danger is that a failure of our talks with the HZDS will result in a failure to form a federal government and elect the president, and in a loss of control of this state.

We find it hard to believe that this indeed is what the HZDS and Mr. Meciar are after.

Czech-Slovak Talks To Continue on 17 Jun

LD1506142792 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1330 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Text] According to latest information, the Civic Democratic Party [CDP] has accepted the proposal by the Movement for Democratic Slovakia to hold the next round of talks between the two parties on Wednesday 17 June in Prague. This has been announced by CDP press spokesman Jiri Schneider.

Havel To Meet With Meciar in Prague 15 Jun

LD1506142492 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1330 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Text] A meeting between President Vaclav Havel and the a Movement for Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] delegation headed by its chairman, Vladimir Meciar, will take place today at Prague Castle from 1900. Other members of the HZDS delegation should be Milan Knazko, Michal Kovac, and Augustin Marian Huska. Presidential spokesman Michael Zantovsky announced this at today's news briefing.

Havel Spokesman Views Rotating Presidency

LD1506145192 Prague CSTK in English 1239 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Text] Prague June 15 (CSTK)—The idea of introducing the post of vice-president whose nationality would be different from that of the Czechoslovak president might be acceptable for the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), the spokesman for the Czechoslovak president, Michael Zantovsky, said today.

At a regular briefing, Zantovsky said this possibility has already been mentioned by President Vaclav Havel.

He characterised as a new idea the variant providing for the office of the federal president to be held, on the basis of an agreement, in turns by the presidents of the Czech and Slovak Republics, as proposed by the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS). He added that this is a purely confederative element.

"It is interesting", Zantovsky said, "that although Vladimir Meciar (HZDS chairman) does not support the candidacy of Vaclav Havel for Czechoslovak president, he accepts the idea of Havel becoming the Czech president who would possibly rotate in the post of the federal president with the Slovak president".

Zantovsky said that Havel might start considering his candidacy for a Czech president only at a time when it would be clear that Czechoslovakia is doomed to a slow or speedy liquidation.

Commenting on Meciar's claim that Havel's notion of the Czechoslovak state is similar to that of President Edvard Benes (1935-38, 1945-48), Zantovsky said that "Vaclav Havel has rejected the idea of Czechoslovakism. While president Benes was a supporter of Czechoslovakia as a unitary state, Vaclav Havel is a convinced federalist".

Meciar, Other HZDS Leaders View Talks

LD1206210692 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1506 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Report by correspondents Igor Matlon and Jan Janosi on news conference by Vladimir Meciar, chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, and deputy chairmen Michal Kovac, Milan Knazko, and Augustin Marian Huska with unidentified journalists in Bratislava on 12 June—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] There were no opening remarks from representatives of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] in the beginning of the news conference and the floor was therefore immediately given to journalists and their questions. The first answer Vladimir Meciar gave concerned the difference between a looser federation, as seen by Vaclav Klaus, and a looser union, as seen by the HZDS.

[Meciar] I see a looser federation as one which will have fewer ministries. The features of a federation are not based on the number of central bodies of state administration, but on the position of legislative corps, on the manner of (?functioning) of central state administration bodies, and on state citizenship. And thus, the new approach in this respect is that talks on power sharing and structures are more flexible. But this does not mean that there would be a new understanding of the loose federation. Our perception is based on several issues. We are proposing that the Czech side shake off our yoke concocted for themselves by former representations who regarded the defense of a common state as a purpose of their negotiations.

We proposed: Let's not start talking about whether to have or not to have a common state, because our talks will lead nowhere. Let's start discussing the common

interest of Czechs and the common interest of Slovaks. That is a rather different approach. Since this interest is to be defined, we outlined where, in our view, this interest lies. We said naturally, that in order to ensure a free circulation of goods we have to preserve the unity of the market. If there is to be unity of the market, then there must be one currency. From this ensues the need of having an administration of the currency and an administration of the market. If we want to have a free movement of people, including all social and other guarantees, then there must be an equal guarantee of observation of human and civic rights on the territory of both republics and there must be bodies guaranteeing these interests. When talking about common defense, we said at the same time that there must be bodies ensuring common defense and state administration in this sphere. There was a difference with regard to the activity of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Thus, the basic differences between them and us boil down to the fact that the form of a looser federation has not been explained, while our side had provided [its conception of] the form of a confederative or other looser union. At the same time, there is an incorrect interpretation on the part of the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] with regard to the use of the market-defense community [trhovo-obranne spolocenstvo]. This term was used only as a working term when discussing one small problem, but they immediately blew it up. We told them right then and there that our dimension is not only market and defense oriented, that it also has a human and foreign political factor and that it constitutes a broader understanding of coexistence. Propaganda abuses it and explains in a different way than was the objective reality during the talks. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent] [Words indistinct] (?according to certain assessments of the functioning of the new government) will there be specific federal bodies or will there be some kind of a coordination council?

[Meciar] It is not true. We proceed from the currently valid constitutional state. This means that the Constitution of this state is in force, in force are also the mechanisms of state administration which must be modernized; what is superfluous must be removed—and there is quite a lot of it. It will make it possible for the entire structure of state administration to function better and with less cost.

The essence of this issue is a little different. We agreed on the composition of the Federal Assembly, we basically agreed on the structure of the Federal Government, and we are hagling also over some details of other central bodies of state administration. And so, these steps are more or less behind us.

I would like to say that on the Czech side I appreciate the personal endeavor of Mr. Klaus to meet me halfway. Despite all expectations he is enormously constructive during the talks, and even though he undeniably has a temper, the endeavor to meet me halfway still exists and (?one can discuss any issue with him).

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. Klaus said yesterday at a news conference that (?Slovak press) [word indistinct] had shocked him somewhat by declaring that Slovakia would aim to join the UN. Deputy Chairman Kovac did his best at yesterday's news conference to explain this. But in my view he did not quite succeed. He failed to convince both his political partners and—above all—the Czech journalists. Could you elaborate on the issue now?

[Meciar] Even I cannot convince Czech journalists! When I read their output I see that they carry on with what they used to do. They see demons and spread rumors just the same.

As far as the issue goes, we have analyzed the concept and the structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In this context, we considered two alternatives for the ministry. First, the federal alternative. Second, the alternative of setting up this ministry in case there is a confederation with two subjects. I used the example of Slovakia becoming a member of the UN. This was immediately taken out of the context, interpreted as an effort on Slovakia's part to become a UN member. It could well be included in some long-term program, but it is not an issue of practical politics of the next few days or months.

Slovakia will first have to decide what she wants. Whether it wants to be sovereign, and if she wants to be in a loose or a federative union. Only citizens of the [Slovak] republic can answer that. We have had great disputes about the referendum. [passage omitted]

It was only at yesterday's talks that the CDP modified its priorities as first of all preserving the state rather than breaking it up. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified HZDS representative] I would like to add that I was surprised, although I played the issue down so as not to dramatize the situation like Mr. Klaus. Mr. Klaus was surprised that in our program and in our general presetation we describe Slovakia as a subject of international law. We have been saying this for two years. It is embodied in our program and part of the demand for state sovereignty. [passage omitted]

[Meciar] I had one experience which I want to stress. They [the ODS] expect that, similarly to earlier talks between the former political representations, Slovaks will say one thing on the outside and another at the table. They were in no way ready for the fact that we would be capable, willing, and determined to push through the program which we declared to the public. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Vladimir Meciar went on to touch upon a note of Mr. Klaus who at yesterday's news conference

said that it is questionable whether or not the Czech Republic will wait for the results of the referendum in Slovakia.

[Meciar] Yesterday's deliberations started by us having protested for an hour against the way the talks are interpreted by the Klaus group. Unnecesary hysteria is arising in Bohemia when people are signing their names under the petition in favor of the break-up of the state. A while ago they did it the other way round. When people react by signing petitions for re-election of President Vaclav Havel as a means of pressure on the Movement for Democratic Slovakia and his deputies—yesterday even they used the term that there can be defenestration—these are things that do not belong to a political dictionary. These deliberations are covered by a coat of the so-called protection of what is Czech, but in fact it is aimed at breaking up of Czechoslovakia. To offer responsibility for these steps to the Slovak side does not means that the Slovaks will say no. Responsibility can be born for this only by the person who will give them such conditions that they will not be able to say yes.

[Knazko] I agree with you that a viewpoint formed in this way, namely that the Czech public will be willing to wait, is in fact an appeal of the Czech public not to wait for a referendum, but then I am asking in what other way Mr. Klaus is imagining how the so-called cultivated division of the state could happen because I am personally convinced that no political party has a mandate to do so and no political personality has it either. The implementation of the referendum is simiply considered by us as inevitable prerequisite for our further coexistence or possible division. [passage omitted]

[Meciar] There is one interesting point—there is a difference between rhetoric behind the table and rhetoric before the reporters. I have noted that twice and I do not understand this phenomenon because on the table it looks different than when information is being handed over to journalists. We could protest here word for word and sentence for sentence, proving that it was not the case, but basically four Slovak representatives would sit against equal number of Czech representatives and accused each other of deception. In order not to do that we would avoid news conferences and up to when deliberations are taking place we shall continue avoiding these contacts because we would have to react word for word and that means conflict. As to the question of referendum there are several possibilities: first, that from the international point of view and internal political view also, this problem is solved for Slovakia one has to have the point of view of all the citizens.

It has its character qualified by the international law, in that after that it is a signal also for the other states of Europe in that they recognize it. It has it political consequence inside in that we take our own affairs in our own hands and there is a state formation for which we bear responsibility and which is our formation. We must take into consideration also the fact that from a short-term point of view there will be worsening of economic and social conditions, although from a long-term point of view this will be reflected in the end as an advantage. But this alternative must be tabled and a decision must be made about it. In relation to the Czech Republic it means that if the Slovaks say that they are in favor of the Federation they are saying: We need not make a referendum, we want it, we are happy with what it is. You are dissatisfied. If the Slovaks want an independent state they are saying that they do not have to have a referendum and in case we are talking about more flexible coexistence then the ODS is saying that for it it is the same thing as an independent state, that it will not politically support such a union. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. Meciar, you recalled that there were three possible outcomes of the state set-up: a federation, a loose union, or sovereignty. However, a referendum usually gives only two options. Which ones will they be? [Sentence indistinct]

[Meciar] First there has to be the political will to [declare] a referendum. We have it by 74 votes in the Slovak parliament, judging from our talks with other political parties. These are above all the Party of Democratic Left [SDL] and the Slovak National Party [SNS]. [passage omitted]

I would not like to jump too far ahead by wording a [referendum] question today. It will be possible to devise such a referendum to make its outcome binding for the Slovak National Council and the Slovak Government in their activities.

[Unidentified correspondent] Assuming that the referendum would take perhaps several months to prepare, as is historical experience, what will be the future development of economic reform considering the differing views of the ODS or the HZDS? What will be the reform's fate in what can only be called a vacuum?

[Meciar] I will answer by concentrating first on the political aspect. Previously, the debate in Slovakia was on whether we would have sovereignty and a constitution or not. The stage has been brought to an end by a yes which was given in the election. [passage omitted]

Regarding the economic reform, we have agreed that coupon privatisation would go on. The first round, which has begun, will be properly completed. Nothing will change there. At the same time, we clearly indicated to Mr. Klaus, and I told him personally, that it would not be feasible for Slovakia to continue with economic reform and policy in the earlier way, that is by destruction of economy and social sphere. We are awaiting unambiguous signals from the Federal Government which has to come up with a new program. If it cannot manage to come up with a new program of reviving, restructuring, and injecting health we shall have to let it fall.

From the time's point of view there are several important moments. There have been arguments that an upturn had started, but we do not think so. [passage omitted]

The result of the referendum will have to be respected and it will not be possible to cast doubt on it.

[Knazko] Mr. Klaus spoke yesterday at a news conference about the total nonfunctionality of these days and the impossibility of the functioning of his institutions. I have to respond to this. No matter what the outcome of the referendum, I am convinced that the newly constituted Federal Government and all other bodies have to function fully, both from the short- and long-term point of view. If the Federation stays, surely there is no reason to paralyze the development. If there is a loose association, there is no reason for that either. If we were to arrive at a split of Czechoslovakia, after all, and if we assume it would happen in a civilized manner and the succession rights and all other agreements and processes are divided in a partnerlike, amicable way, there would be no reason either to slow down or restrict the functioning of the newly elected federal bodies. It is only if yet another calculation enters the game that (?nonfunctioning should be contemplated).

[Passage omitted] [Meciar] First I would answer the first part of your question—the one concerning the date of a referendum. They [the ODS] proposed that we concluded an agreement about the date of a referendum in Slovakia. Our answer was that providing it was a referendum of the Slovak Republic this was the matter for us and we were not going to conclude agreements concerning the Slovak National Council. If a referendum is to be carried out also at the Czech Republic at the same time in such a case we are prepared to conclude agreements. We are not prepared to conclude agreements assuming obligations on behalf of the Slovak National Council—neither did we ask them to assume such obligations on behalf of the Czech National Council.

As far as the first question is concerned, I do not why—I still have not managed to understand this—but the ODS is obsessed with the date of 5 July as the latest date for the forming of the Federal Government. They link this to the fact that the term of the president ends on 5 July. Nevertheless, he continues to hold his post for three months if he is not elected. Thus there is no reason why to cast doubt on this and why the latest date should be the 5th, especially as we know that the Czech National Council's schedule envisages the forming of the Czech Government by the 7th.

Our preliminary stand which we put forward was that we did not want to hinder the forming of the Federal Government, we did not create artificial arguments and doubts about its legitimity. Nevertheless, we condition this by an agreement on its structure, an agreement on its political program—we would like to have a joint one. They refused this yesterday referring to the fact that we do not intend to support President Havel's candidature. [Their view is that] it should not be a political program—instead it should be a document on a different political level or of a different significance. We did not put this as an ultimatum, we accepted even this. [passage omitted]

[Question indistinct]

[Meciar] We have to make the following distinction: our views on coexistence between the Czechs and Slovaks are different but they do not correspond to immediate steps which have to be taken now. Thus, as far as long-term constructions and intentions are concerned, the parties hold different views but as far as practical steps which need to be taken tomorrow, the day after tomorrow, and in the next few weeks are concerned, we are very close to each other.

There is a difference in our understanding of a function of the Federal Government. We used a famous quote from the Bible that it has to work as if it is going to live forever and live as if it is to fall tomorrow. The difference concerns its function—even if a conclusion is reached through a referendum that the republic is to disintegrate or that two subjects are to be formed there is still the period of one year when the bodies in question have to function and subsequently there is a period during which these bodies would be in charge of managing this process. Thus we do not cast doubt on the legitimity either of the government or the parliament—on the contrary we strive to achieve their functional integration and building of their functions in the way to enable them to represent the interests of the two parties.

We have engaged in talks about possible agreements concerning activities at specific ministries. This is to be outlined in more detail on 14 June. We are going to agree on a ratio—we insist on a parity representation in the government. A question of state secretaries is disputed—on this issue we demand that posts of state secretaries exist. On the other hand we are being offered posts of first deputy ministers—this is not very flattering.

Thus we do not agree on long-term issues but we agree upon what is necessary to do tomorrow.

[Unidentified HZDS representive] I would like to add that the question of the day in our talks is not a common state or something else as this is going to be discussed only after a referendum. The question now is how to form a federal government, how to define its programme, how to secure that the Federal Assembly functions. [passage omitted]

[Meciar] I am not aware of the fundamental differences—there are problems concerning specific issues and there are different views on specific problems. For instance, the question of economic reform is not a subject of any great dispute between us. The dispute concerns a phase of restrictions—when and how to end it, how to progress with it. Discussion has revealed that we stand closer to each other than we thought. We

thought that this was the fundamental difference—and it is not a fundamental difference which could not be overcome.

The economic questions we have discussed included also the question of what is going to be a further development of our economy. We simply have to embark on a new qualitative phase—restructuring the entire economy, renewing the character of regional policy, and on this issue we said that unfortunately we did not perceive as regional policy what they put forward to us. [passage omitted]

Talks have brought a number of dramatic reversals, there are moments psychologically demanding for both sides. Nevertheless, this is natural, especially given the composition and temperament of the people involved in the meetings.

[Question indistinct]

[Meciar] Concerning the first question I would like to tell you that the loose federation of Mr. Klaus is a fiction which I have heard nothing about as yet. This simply does not exist. This is only stressing other management aspects when financial matters, currency, and budget matters are to assume the character of strict centralization. Federal bodies are to have their powers reduced but nothing changes in the features of the federal state. Confederation means that there are two subjects, two subjects of international law while federation is only one. Confederation means that we are not building on a constitutional principle but on a principle of a treaty. [passage omitted]

From the Czech side there is a question of what it is that we in fact want. We have said that we want a looser union than the present one [words indistinct], recognition of this union but this does not mean a rejection of other advantages of coexistence which exist without doubt. The other side tells us no—if you want this we have to put an end to everything. They even said that while the Czech Government is in charge of state enterprises those enterprises would stop deliveries to Slovakia. Mr. Kovac had to ask them for a single reason why this should happen. We do not want this, we want cooperation, market, we want a common currency and want to do something for it, or one currency, (?if you like). Those steps do not seem rational to us. There are different views on the prospects. In relation to the economic reform: we can reckon, as everything indicates, that there will be agreements but these will be agreements which will concern other stage of economic processes than the present one which should, by the activity of those political bodies, change in quality. We cannot continue like this. [passage omitted]

[Question indistinct]

[Meciar] We have discussed several aspects of foreign affairs. We shall, for instance, proceed together on the issue of currency. If there is a single currency, it has to have the same obligations abroad. If there is a shared market, there would be shared tenders, and so on. As for political representation in some countries, we could agree on shared representation of both republics. However, if the citizens recognize this union, membership in international organizations would be dealt with in each case individually. Each would act on their own and we would then coordinate our approach. We are explaining this project in order to make it widely known. Of course, its practical implementation will depend on the result of the referendum.

[Question indistinct]

[Meciar] Association agreements have been concluded. Mr. Major said that it would be necessary to redo association agreements. The question is, however, that unless these steps are taken now they will not be possible in the future. In other words, it is a choice between taking them now at a lower level of EC integration, or not at all in the future.

Therefore, an association agreement could be interpreted as valid for the next ten years. In the next ten years the development of both Bohemia and Slovakia would be assessed. We do not think the conclusion of a new agreement is unavoidable, but then again we do not want to force our view on the EC which may well know best.

[Announcer] The next question was about the development of bilateral relations if the talks with the ODS fail.

[Meciar] Both sides know that neither can move. They say we can deadlock each other out. The forces in the parliament are equal. I can even say that when the Slovak Bloc is set up, we shall be in a better position. However, there must be some interest in a factual solution of the problem in the first place. Blocking each other out in the parliament in the interest of a functioning state is not on. [passage omitted]

[Question indistinct]

[Meciar] The first question has been fuelled by the misinterpretation of Mr. Lux [Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party] that we announced a coalition with the SNS and SDL. There is no such coalition and none of the involved parties are interested in entering it. An agreement on governmental programme and on backing such a government, is possible. But not so on a coalition grouping. That will not happen. For such a unity to be formed, a different balance in the parliament is needed. We have a significant majority of 177-188 votes from deputies.

There is also the question of the structure of the Slovak National Council and other state bodies where all subjects can and must be given space for realisation of their aims. We have held talks with these three subjects. We intend to hold talks with the Egyuetteles-Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement. We also want to talk with the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH]. We assume that the KDH will stay in the opposition. As for

Egyuetteles and the KDH. I do not want to comment on the outcome too soon before the talks. [passage omitted]

As far as President Havel, I would like to say that what we have done [refusing to meet Havel] is not wounded pride. Our position is different. The president spoke to Vaclav Klaus in private immediately after the election. The result is an official assignment to discuss the formation of the Federal Government. The private became the public. Because we have not been invited to these talks, we do not know whether Mr. Klaus has a mandate from the president, or just from his party. We think that he is likely to have the president's mandate. It has been officially published but we do not know the details. Furthermore, I have been offered to participate in private talks with the president. [passage omitted]

We want to sit at the same table as the ODS at these talks. [passage omitted]

I will recommend to HZDS representatives tomorrow that they do not support the candidacy of President Havel. Nothing changes there. It is to do with political mistakes of the past period—there have been enough of those—and with some other issues.

[Announcer] Thank you, two last questions: The Czech Television and the Slovak Television.

[Unidentified correspondent from Czech Television] I have the first question. Why [words indistinct]?

[Meciar] As to the program of the meeting which is taking place today we envisaged that it will rather be a working meeting than a news conference. Owing to the rumors between us it has happened that a news conference was thus convened. I want to be reticent for the sake of the future as far as these talks are concerend because at the moment when things are developing they have different stages of development, comments on one side or another, strong words that were used, for example, by Mr. Macek on the Czech Television during the debate that you had there, I think two days ago, they would lawfully demand retaliation from my side. I should like to prevent this and I wish that we could carry out talks and to agree on something and not to be at loggerheads, I am more reticent, I do not comment on things, I prefer suffering in silence rather than provoking conflicts. As to why I did not speak in Prague: As you know the relationship between journalists and politicians are mutual. Journalists have the right to grant information, politicians have the right to inform them. I do not believe numerous Czech media saying that they are not malicious and that they will not carry misinformation out of ill will. They did that immediately before the elections, they have done it for several years, so allow me to include my experience—why should I give them information if they write something else anyway.

[Unidentified correspondent from Slovak Television] Mr. Chairman, yesterday following your talks at the Federal Assembly, you also met Alexander Dubcek. [Sentence indistinct]

[Meciar] We talked about election results, about the position of the Social Democratic Party, but also about his personal life. In this respect, as to the part pertaining to his personal life, it had an absolutely personal character. Allow me, I shall keep it to myself. As far as the position of the Social Democracy is concerned then it is difficult to seek (?application) of their representatives in the structures of the presidium of the Federal Assembly because it (?is only in one chamber) and even if they wanted to give any more pronounced support we have a clear reply from the Czech side that they will not grant support and that it will simply be an (?impervious) matter. So this is how we acknowledged it and it is in this sense that I briefed Mr. Chairman Dubcek.

'Only Invited Journalists' Attend HZDS Briefing

AU1506120092 Prague CSTK in English 1246 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Text] Bratislava June 12 (CSTK)—Only invited journalists were allowed to attend today's press conference given by Vladimir Meciar, chairman of the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), a staffer of the HZDS secretariat told CSTK.

The HZDS secretariat staffer said the HZDS secretariat decided to close the press conference to reporters who were not invited. The staffer, who declined to give her name, said no foreign journalists were invited. Only correspondents from RUDE PRAVO and PRACE were invited from the Czech newspapers.

Remaining behind the doors of the room where the press conference began were in addition to the CSTK correspondent, reporters from Radio Free Europe, the Czech newspapers LIDOVE NOVINY and TELEGRAF, and the Slovak daily SLOVENSKY DENNIK.

After the end of the press conference director of the HZDS' Press and Information Centre Jozef Sucha said the event had not been a press conference but "a meeting of Vladimir Meciar with invited journalists".

After his talks with Civic Democratic Party (ODS) Chairman Vaclav Klaus in Prague last night, Meciar did not attend a joint press conference, saying he would meet journalists in Bratislava.

Foreign Media Protest Exclusion

AU1506120292 Prague CSTK in English 1612 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Text] Prague June 12 (CSTK)—The committee of the Association of Foreign Journalists (AZN) in Czechoslovakia today expressed concern over their exclusion from today's press conference of Vladimir Meciar, chairman of the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), in Bratislava, announced in advance in Prague on Thursday [11 June].

"We consider this move, reminiscent of the practices of the former Central Committee of the Communist Party

of Czechoslovakia, an inadmissible suppression of the principle of the freedom of press", says an AZN statement conveyed to CSTK.

The AZN committee demands that in the future the HZDS ensures all journalists accredited in Czechoslovakia access to all press conferences and meetings it organises.

The AZN associates some 40 journalists accredited in Czechoslovakia on a long-term basis and representing the press from 14 countries, including Britain, France, Germany, Poland, Russia and the United States.

Havel Discusses Current Czech-Slovak Talks

LD1406182992 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1215 GMT 14 Jun 92

[Interview with Prresident Vaclav Havel by station editor Stanislava Dufkova, at Lany on 13 June; "Conversations at Lany"—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Dufkova] Today is Saturday, just after 1500, and we are at Lany. This has been a week of night talks about the constitutional setup, of reflections, of expectations, and above all, of waiting. Mr. President, do you think that what we are going through is a real agony of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic?

[Havel] Look, I am the president of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic and as such I have to weigh my words carefully. I cannot speak about the agony of our state with such ease as many journalists do. You certainly appreciate this. Nevertheless, I really think that this is not an agony.

The situation is of course serious. Everybody who follows day- time or night-time television broadcasts is aware of this. Perhaps, precisely because we are aware that the situation is serious, it would be better if first of all I attempt to describe the situation, give it a name.

What has in fact happened? The elections took place and their result is generally known. Once I knew for sure that the Civic Democratic Party of Vaclav Klaus had gained most votes in the Federal Assembly, I asked him to begin coalition talks. My constitutional powers include the appointment of a federal government, and it is more than clear that I cannot appoint it in a casual manner, just as I wish. [passage omitted]

It was obvious to both of us, Klaus and myself, that his first negotiating partner had to be the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] and Mr. Meciar, as leader of the party that won the elections in the Slovak Republic. And that is what happened. [passage omitted] The public is well-informed about the content and course of the coalition talks. From time to time there are objections to these talks on the grounds that they overstep the subject which they are supposed to deal with. Their subject should be talks which would eventually result in a proposal for the composition of a federal government, and there are objections because they deal with the future of the state, the constitutional setup, referendum, the coexistence of our nations, of our two republics.

In my view such objections are nonsense. If two parties with fundamentally different ideas about the future of this state begin negotiations, if these two parties are to form a government coalition, a federal government with some program that will weld it together and which has to govern in the spirit of that program, then the two parties must first exchange their views on the future of the state, find what unites them, and outline a room for possible cooperation so that the government can be of some use and will be able to govern and function. They have to agree on something that will be the starting point of the government's work and its program, if only for a short period, or even for a long period. Therefore it seems to me that it is quite logical and natural that the purpose of the talks is not only some distribution of posts and arguing who will be a minister for what. It seems that on Sunday the concrete composition of the federal government will be discussed. Nevertheless it is only natural that this discussion had to be preceded by a more general discussion.

[Dufkova] Mr. President, I thought that you would look a bit sad after all you have been through in the past few days. You do not look so.

[Havel] I have no reason to look said. I have encountered an interesting phenomenon. For two and a half years I have been conducting and initiating various talks on our state setup, on our constitution, and when I am absent from these talks for one week the impression is created that I have disappeared, that I do not exist. I have been reading articles such as "Havel's era has ended," "Havel's concept of humanitarian policy has ended," almost as if one world has died and another world is starting.

All this, to tell you the truth, makes me laugh a bit. I have not done anything else than that what is, in a normal democratic system, a usual, normal and natural thing to do, that is: I have asked, in harmony with my constitutional powers, someone to start coalition talks aimed at forming a government coalition at federal level. Naturally, sooner or later I will be told the result of these talks; I will draw the relevant conclusions, and I will decide what to do next.

[Dufkova] Is there not a threat of a situation in which we have neither a government nor a president and the parliament cannot function?

[Havel] Naturally, one can envisage such a situation. One can envisage a situation when no coalition talks lead to forming a government which has any purposeful program and enjoys a majority in the parliament. One can envisage that Calfa's government is asked to continue to govern. One can envisage that we have no president. One can envisage that today's—very polarized—federal parliament will be paralyzed.

I firmly believe that this will not be the case. I, personally want to do everything in my power for this not to happen. I welcome the fact that leaders of parties elected to the Federal Assembly have quite easily agreed on the political appointments in the Federal Assembly. This is the first condition for it to be set up at all. I also believe that it is quite right for Vaclav Klaus to insist on forming the federal government, if possible, before the election of the president. I want to do everything for the federal organs to exist, and not to be paralyzed.

Nevertheless, as you have mentioned this alternative, then I should say one thing in this connection: Such a situation when not a single federal institution would be functioning, this would really be a situation of true agony for the state. And I have to say that this proves as correct my continuous efforts in the past to create constitutional safety valves against the danger of similar political and constitutional crisis. [passage omitted, recalling past efforts]

Unfortunately, the present situation or the danger, which you have mentioned, only confirms my past fears about possible crises. It is a pity that we do not have a well thought-out, balanced system of constitutional safety valves in our constitutional system which would guarantee that the real agony of the functioning of the state administration and all power institutions cannot happen. [passage omitted on functioning of such safety valves in Italy]

[Dufkova] Mr. President, how do you see your candidacy for the post of a president today, Saturday, a few minutes after 1500? Would you be willing to become only a Czech president?

[Havel] I announced in the Federal Assembly that I would run for president of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic. I announced this after many political parties had voiced their support for my candidacy. This was a reaction to the will of the political parties. Today I see my candidacy as I saw it a month ago, as I saw it yesterday, and as I will probably see it also tomorrow, and as I have stated in public many times. I understand my candidacy as an offer that I will fulfill a certain task. I said very clearly with what values and ideals I link my candidacy, and what task I am ready to try to fulfill as a possible future president. I want to strive for certain moral values—such basic principles as mutual understanding, tolerance, consensus. I want to participate in the building of democratic structures, and a democratic system. I want to strive for the continuation of the brave economic reform which our country chose to go through and which is praised also abroad, and which I firmly believe is the only way to achieve the renaissance of our ruined economy. I want to continue to strive for what I have been striving for two and a half years, that is for the existence of a common state as a state based on fair coexistence of our two republics. I am ready to withdraw my candidacy if I were to find out that I cannot promote these values, if the break-up of our state is unavoidable. I will not be a liquidator.

There is one more thing I should say here. We have a bad tradition of presidents who were forced to sign something against their will and then resigned or sadly watched the consequences of their signature. I refuse to find myself in such a situation. I will not swear on a constitution of a state which will clearly not exist in six months' time. I will not play the gruesome role that several of my predecessors had to play. However, I will not withdraw my candidacy because some party decided not to support it. I consider this to be undignified. It seems to me that in such a situation it is better not to be elected in a dignified way than to leave the scene.

Of course, if developments were leading to the break-up of our state, or if I was not elected federal president for whatever reason, it does not mean that I will abandon my fellow citizens, that I will leave public life. Knowing myself, it will not be easy for anyone to oust me from public life.

[Dufkova] How do you see our future, Mr. President?

[Havel] After the talks that took place this week, and after having studied international legal aspects and constitutional aspects of various alternatives, it seems to me at this moment that there are three alternatives for our future development. The first one is a transformation of our present federation. Here I must say, and you will probably be surprised, that on this issue I share the view of many Slovak politicians that the present form of our federation is not good. I am not saying this only now, under the pressure of the election results. I have been saying this for two years.

We will either—and this is the first alternative—succeed in transforming our federation into a different one—a considerably looser federation that would suit both its members, and that would preserve the international legal continuation of this common state, even though the state would have a different internal structure [sentence as heard]. However, such a common state with a different and fairer structure—and on this I agree with Czech politicians—must still be a state. It must be able to function as a state. This means that it has to have some basic, I would call it minimal, attributes of a state. These include not only common defense but also common foreign policy, since it is unthinkable for two countries to have a common defense policy but pursue different foreign policies. Everyone will understand this. Such a state has to have a single currency, common basic features of economic policy and also some other attributes, less problematic, which make a state a state. I believe that in such a case—provided a consensus on the course of such a substantial internal transformation is reached—it will not be necessary to hold a referendum.

[Havel continues] The second alternative is: It will not be possible to carry out a transformation that would preserve the continuation of today's Czechoslovakia in the form of a common state as a subject of international law, and it will be necessary to create two republics as two subjects of international law. This can only happen as a

result of a nationwide referendum under paragraph one, article one of the Law on Referendum. It would basically mean a break-up of the state through an agreement. There would simply be two successor states of today's Czechoslovakia that would search for a way of coexistence, negotiate agreements and treaties, establish free movement of labor force, duty-free zones etc. However, there would be two states searching for a way of closer coexistence than exists between two completely independent states. [passage omitted]

The third alternative is so-called secession [oddeleni]. This means that there would have to be a referendum in one of the republics under paragraph two, article one of the constitutional Law on Referendum. If one of the republics decided not to secede from the common state it would naturally have a better starting position, since it would have a better chance that its claims ensuing from the position of the original state—that is the principle of continuation with the previous state, that is the state from which the republic did not secede—will be recognized.

Apart from these three basic alternatives—that is, transformation, break-up, or secession—one can also imagine a fourth alternative, by far the worst one. That is, none of these three controlled processes would occur but instead there would be complete chaos. That is a situation when there would be no referendum, only one-sided statements, when there would be permanent political and constitutional crises, speculations, one side would be abolishing laws of the other one, and so on. This is a Yugoslav way. This is a way of confrontation, a dangerous way that can have extremely dangerous consequences for the citizens of both our republics and for the whole of Central Europe.

[Dufkova] Mr. President, what will happen if the Slovaks really break away from the Czechs, or the Czechs from the Slovaks?

[Havel] You are probably thinking of a case when either the second alternative, a break-up, or the third, secession, or the fourth, chaos, occurred. If any of these alternatives happens—and we must all wish that at least the fourth will not happen—then in my view it will be vital that both the Czechs and Slovaks realize that they will be living side by side regardless of which of the alternatives occurs. That they will live side by side for decades, centuries, let us hope. That they will be neighbors. That they will simply be interrelated by a great number of economic, social, family, and other ties. Nobody should forget this. The Czechs should not forget this either. They should, so to speak, summon up their patience. They should do everything to prevent the spread of such feelings as offensiveness, prestige, intolerance, spite etc. Everybody would pay for that. One must realize that whatever happens we will always have to be neighbors, and it is in everybody's interest that we are good, the best neighbors.

Smallholders' Party Chairman Reports 'Coup'

LD1406120292 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Text] Jozsef Torgyan has asked for the help of foreign governments in defending Hungarian multi-party democracy and constitutionality. The chairman of the Smallholders' Party [reportedly fired 11 June] sent a letter to the leaders of all foreign representations functioning in Hungary, in which he said that yesterday evening an anti-constitutional attack was carried out against him by force and with the involvement of armed units.

Jozsef Torgyan states that, during the events, a session was being held at party headquarters by the bourgeois [polgari] section, whose members, together with the Smallholders arriving from Budapest districts, thwarted the armed takeover of power. The Smallholders' chairman calls what happened a coup, and he designates, as the organizers, Bela Nemeth, general secretary, Sandor Cseh, first vice chairman, and Jenoe Gerbovics and Gyula Lehocky, vice chairmen.

Jozsef Torgyan also states, in his letter, which was also sent to the National Press Service, that he had immediately informed the prime minister's office about the coup.

Torgyan Describes Events

LD1406131192 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Excerpt] Jozsef Torgyan has again summed up, for "Newsreel" [this bulletin], how he experienced the events [in which he was suspended as chairman of Smallholders' Party].

[Begin Torgyan recording] This was a military action that was organized in an extremely wide-ranging manner, where—and this is what I would like to underline—the telephone was cut centrally, there was supposedly a temporary road closure, there was an advance of cars with double-A number-plates, and they were Zhigulis suited for the transport of several people. They appeared with commandos in civilian clothing. Bullet-proof vests were distributed among them, as well as truncheons that can spray gas. Thus, they wanted to remove, with these means, the legitimate party chairman.

Various agents of the National Security Office, if I can use this expression, were rendered harmless in the groundfloor area. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Faction Denies Attack on Torgyan

LD1406121492 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Text] The 35-member faction of the Independent Smallholders' Party held an immediate news briefing in connection with recent events. Laszlo Gardai reports.

[Gardai] The Smallholders' 35 had nothing to do with what happened at the party's headquarters on the Belgrad embankment. The deputy faction leader Sandor Olah, as he said at the press briefing, has received information on the party conflict, which came to blows, only on the radio. The 35 had nothing to do with the organization of the conflict either, he said. It is true that they are working for the rejection of Torgyan, but only through constitutional means.

On 11 June, General Secretary Bela Nemeth and a few members of the presidium, suspended Jozsef Torgyan from his position as party chairman. In the opinion of Sandor Olah, this was completely lawful, according to the party's constitution.

The party's historical section regrets that, instead of politics, and I quote Sandor Olah literally, open fascist phenomena has broken into the life of the party. At the same time, they respect Bela Nemeth, the party's general secretary, who admitted that it was a mistake to help Jozsef Torgyan get into power. However, the historical section is not averse to taking the 10 [member deputy-group] back into the faction of 35. Tommorow, the historical section of the party will issue a statement of the body in connection with what happened.

Torgyan Promises Evidence

LD1206163892 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Text] Jozsef Torgyan alleges that the state authorities are behind the putschists who attempted to remove him on 11 June. The chairman of the Independent Smallholders' Party invariably promises to list evidence supporting that members of the military counterintelligence, the military police, and the national security office took part in the action. At the news briefing held in the party headquarters on Belgrade embankment [in Budapest], it was also said that the four people who are considered to be the organizers of the coup, as well as Emese Ugrin, faction leader, and several other party officials, were banned from the party headquarters. According to unconfirmed reports, Jenoe Gerbovics left the Smallholders' faction of 10, although this was denied by (?Emese Ugrin).

Party Leader Declares Faction Defunct

LD1406130392 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Excerpts] The legitimate Presidium of the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKgP] urges members of the party not to give credit to statements made by Dr. Jozsef Torgyan [former chairman of the FKgP]. This was said at the news briefing of Secretary General Bela Nemeth and Vice Chairman Sandor Cseh. A compilation with recordings is presented by Peter Gyuricza.

[Begin recording] [Gyuricza] Sandor Cseh, vice chairman of the Independent Smallholders' Party, announced at his news briefing: the Smallholders 10

[parliamentary faction of the chairman] as a parliamentary faction has ceased to exist.

[Cseh] After all this, I would consider it impossible that Mr. Gerbovits [Vice Chairman Jenoe Gerbovits, who supports Torgyan] could sit with Jozsef Torgyan in the same faction. In case it is only him who secedes, the faction already ceases to exist from this point onwards. I declare it fait accompli—that it does not exist any more.

[Gyuricza] The explanation concerning the atrocity that took place in the head office of the Smallholders was given by Bela Nemeth, secretary general of the Party.

[Nemeth] We did not do it to gain power, but, obeying the order of conscience, we had to take this step so that those undesirable things in the party and Hungarian internal politics should cease, which were, unfortunately, caused by Mr. Torgyan.

[Gyuricza] Mr. Jozsef Torgyan gave the party neither pro-government nor opposition policy. [passage omitted on Torgyan's efforts to remove several members of the Presidium; Nemeth characterizes Torgyan as a megalomaniac and his thirst for power goes beyond imagination]

[Gyuricza] Bela Nemeth and Sandor Cseh announced and confirmed in a statement that they began disciplinary proceedings against Jozsef Torgyan. From yesterday until now, all his actions are illegitimate and against the constitution of the party. The Smallholders are going to establish a caretaker body, and wish to join Hungarian political life in a way worthy of their historical role. Their aim is to create unity in the party. [passage omitted on the two leaders' appeal to the National Police Headquarters that they be protected against atrocities] [end recording]

Security Office Denies Involvement

LD1406131392 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Text] The National Security Office dissociates itself from the events yesterday [11 Jun] in the headquarters of the Independent Smallholders' Party, and it considers the event to be a conflict of the party's internal affair. The communique, contrary to the allegations of Jozsef Torgyan [former chairman of the Smallholders' Party], emphasizes that no one from the office's staff took part in the events.

Minister of the Interior Peter Boross arranged the verification of the statements pertaining to the state organs concerned.

Socialist Party Turns in Accounts for HSWP

LD1406132792 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] held a board meeting this morning. Kata Horvath has the details:

[Horvath] Regarding yesterday's event in the circle of the Smallholders' Party led by Jozsef Torgyan, the presidium of the HSP did not analyze it. Gyula Horn only wished to mention in connection with the affair that a cleansing process will take place in the Smallholders' Party.

According to the HSP, parliament will be unable to adopt the media law before the summer recess, if for nothing else, because they themselves submitted 42 amendment proposals. According to Gyula Horn, his party would like for radio and television to operate as a public foundation, but the parliament and the government would not exercise rights via the budget as regards its operation. The foundation would be controlled by a supervisory body, and the appointment of the presidents would be the right of the prime minister, in agreement with the supervisory body.

They reject the attack on the press and the remark of Istvan Csurka of the Democratic Forum yesterday, according to which the press is a drag on progress.

In regards to the dispute around the dismissal of the presidents, the opinion of the HSP is that Arpad Goencz acted correctly, both legally and politically. Further proof of standing up for the president of the Republic is that, in the HSP headquarters, a signature-collecting drive began entitled "Arpad Goencz equals democracy."

The HSP also wishes to announce that it has completed the accounting of its assets, and it was accepted by the audit office. It is the assets of the former Hungarian Socialist Workers' party, worth 8 billion forints, which consists of real estate, cash, and fine art objects— the latter comprises of 400 paintings. The accounts were handed in to the parliament on 4 May.

Government Press Briefing on Economic Issues

LD1306203192 Budapest MTI in English 1635 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Text] Budapest, June 12 (MTI)—An amendment to a decree on money circulation and bank credit was passed by the Hungarian Government at its Thursday session, spokeswoman Judit Juhasz said at a press briefing today.

The aim of the amendment is to enable public service companies to collect outstanding debts.

The government will impose restrictions on bank accounts of entrepreneurs under bankruptcy proceedings and of taxpayers having long-standing debts to the state revenue office.

With a similar aim, the government will apply to parliament to amend the social security law as soon as possible, and authorize the social security directorate to levy execution, to be able to collect outstanding claims.

By another resolution, the government approved 180 million forints of additional funds to create personnel

and technical conditions for the immediate levying and collecting of customs duties.

At a National Bank of Hungary proposal, the government authorized foreigners to open forint accounts at Hungary's commercial banks, to enable them to conduct imports and exports in Hungarian currency.

To date, foreigners could pay for purchases in Hungary in convertible currency only.

Under the resolution, foreigners will be barred from converting the balance of their external trade forint accounts to foreign currency and from remitting sums abroad from the account.

In another development, the government authorized the Toyota representation here to rent several buildings belonging to the flood prevention organization on Csepel Island until 1994.

Considering results of privatization deals concluded to date, the government ruled, in future, before concluding such deals, an analysis on whether the change of ownership will create a monopolistic situation or whether it will promote competition will have to be made.

Up to now, investors have taken the cream of Hungarian companies, economic competition office President Ferenc Vissi said at the briefing.

The investors have bought strong, even dominant market positions, i.e. Hungarian companies holding such positions.

In future, at a competition office proposal, besides anti-monopolistic aspects, an at least minimal protection of national industry and consumer interests will have to be taken into consideration, Vissi said.

The government should have had a unified plan to guide the expansion of multi-national companies in Hungary but no such plan has been drawn up to date, Vissi said.

Multi-national companies receive particular preferences in nearly all east-central European countries. Such a measure is dangerous because it strongly restricts competition.

According to the economic competition office, established monopolies can be reduced only by opening towards new markets and expanding imports.

Asked about a special customs preference granted to Ford vans recently, Vissi said if the investigation launched by the competition office reveals the preference runs counter to regulations, the office will ask for its invalidation.

The government will give 1.5 billion forints to the central technical development fund and 3 billion forints to research development this year, spokeswoman Judit Juhasz said. Thus support to technical development will continue, albeit with reduced resources.

The government will also set up a new system of instituting loan guarantees.

The new system will consist of two parts, the loan guarantee plc [expansion unknown] of 2 billion forints of initial capital, and a 2-billion-dollar state reserve fund, Finance Ministry senior official Eva Hegedus said.

The money for the system will come from privatization revenues.

The loan guarantee plc is to provide guarantees for selected bank loans to small and medium-size ventures, while the state reserve fund is to provide reciprocal guarantees for the loans.

Also, the government discussed the implementation of the bankruptcy law.

A total of 870 companies were under bankruptcy proceedings late this May, all having operated for over ten years. These companies, exports amount to 5 per cent of all dollar-accounting exports. Their production amounts to 4 per cent of gross production. Their staff comprises 141,000 employees.

Assets of the 870 companies total 101.4 billion forints, while their debts amount to 116 billion.

Further 3,045 bankruptcy reports and 3,898 liquidation reports have been submitted to courts by April 30. These affect 20 per cent of employees.

UN Embargo Supported With 'Sympathy' to Serbia

LD1306114992 Budapest MTI in English 1732 GMT 11 Jun 92

[Text] Budapest, June 11 (MTI)—Hungary is looking with friendship and sympathy at Serbia and all neighbouring south Slav peoples, seeking good-neighbourly relations with them.

Hungary has joined the UN sanctions imposed on Serbia out of the conviction that this is the best way for the international community to promote a quickest and most effective solution that answers the interests of the Serbian people themselves, the government declared during its Thursday [11 Jun] session.

Speaking to journalists in the recess of the meeting, spokesman Balazs Laszlo said the cabinet found the position of Vojvodina and the situation of local Hungarians alarming. That is why it urged the sending of UN observers to Vojvodina and Kosovo at the CSCE conference in Helsinki, but Belgrade refused to receive the mission. Nevertheless, Hungary wishes to keep the question on the agenda at CSCE forums, the spokesman said.

Jeszenszy on Relations with Serbia, Vojvodina

LD1406202792 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1900 GMT 14 Jun 92

[Text] Hungary seeks friendly relations with Serbia, Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky said in an interview with the Ujvidek [Novi Sad] newspaper MAGYAR SZO. He stressed that under no circumstances will Budapest participate in an intervention against Serbia.

If the Serbian Government ends the policy which has been condemned by the UN Security Council, and if the Magyars in Vajdasag [Vojvodina] consider their position to be safe, our country could have better and closer links with Serbia than ever before.

The foreign minister particularly emphasized that where peace still exists in the southern Slav region, it must be preserved. We regard Vajdasag as such a region, and the sending of UN peacekeeping forces would be desirable.

Trade With Former Soviet Republics Analyzed

AU1306181092 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 8 Jun 92 p 5

[Signed report by "D.P.": "The Post-Soviet States' Market in 1992—Great Opportunities With Great Risks"]

[Text] Irrespective of their internal crisis and the extreme difficulties in their trade, the independent states of the former Soviet Union could continue to play a considerable role in the Hungarian energy imports in 1992, and could also represent a considerable market for Hungarian industrial products.

According to information deriving from the Ministry of International Economic Relations [NGKM], opportunities are given for the import and export of following products from and to the CIS states. Imports: 2.8 billion kilowatts of electric energy; 0.6 million tonnes of cement; 2.3 million tonnes of oil; 7 billion cubic meters of natural gas; 1.7 million cubic meters of round timber and converted timber; and 0.1 million tonnes of crude leather.

Exports: 5,120 Ikarus buses; (this element of the recently concluded agreement can practically be forgotten because of the payment difficulties encountered by Russia and the other states. Of the orders of 3,500 buses for Russia; 1,200 for Ukraine; 300 for Belarus; 100 for Uzbekistan; and 20 for the Komi Republic, the Russian order is very questionable. The financial situation and solvency of the other partners are also deteriorating rapidly); pharmaceutical products and medical equipment worth $237 million; 1.1 million tonnes of wheat; 0.15 million tonnes of meat; and 0.3 million tonnes of sugar. According to the NGKM, there are no guarantees whatsoever for the trade agreements signed with Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Komi Republic, and Uzbekistan in 1992.

Most of this year's 2.8 billion kilowatt imports of electric energy comes from Russia, namely 1.6 billion kilowatts, and the rest comes from Ukraine, if the Ukraine-Russia conflict does not degenerate into an economic war when, in order to force Moscow, the Ukrainian side would shut down the line that crosses through its territory. This danger also threatens the supply of crude oil. There were already examples of such short shutting of the Friendship Pipe Line in recent weeks. We can count on 2 million tonnes of crude from Russia, and 300,000 tonnes from the Komi Republic, according to the signed trade agreements. Cooperation with the Lada enterprises continues, and this involves Hungarian exports of autospare parts worth $60 million to Russia, in exchange of Lada cars. The purchase of uranium rods for the Paks Nuclear Station costs us $44 million. We import these rods from Russia.

One of the largest parts of the possible Hungarian exports is made up of pharmaceuticals and medical equipment. Russia would be the main market, with a purchase of such goods in the value of $200 million, a purchasing plan that could be threatened by Russia's critical financial situation, the decision on the Russian request for a moratorium on the payment of foreign debts, and by illusions connected with Western aid. (We were informed that the Hungarian Medimpex was still waiting for the payment of its last year's exports of pharmaceutical products worth almost $50 million). Ukraine ordered pharmaceutical products and medical equipment worth $14.5 million; Belarus $14 million; Komi Republic $6 million; and Uzbekistan $2.5 million. Russia ordered 600,000 tonnes of wheat, and Uzbekistan ordered 500,000 tonnes of wheat; Belarus ordered an unspecified amount of the $15 million food package.

Given the fact that the central trade is only part of the overall exports, the actual turnover could be bigger than this.

Editorial Views Implications of CSFR Elections

AU1406155492 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Jun 92 p 3

[Editorial by Tibor Kis: "A Jump Into the Darkness"]

[Text] Is the new crisis here? The political disintegration in Eastern-Central Europe is now threatening the joint state of the Czechs and Slovaks, a country with which we have learned to somehow coexist and even cooperate since 1918. This is now over: Czechoslovakia will soon cease to exist in the present form as a result of the elections held over the weekend. The only question is how civilized this transformation process will be and what will replace the old formation.

So far, the political Murphy's law of Central Europe has worked in a way that whatever could disintegrate did so here. It is not certain that this law would work in the case of Czechoslovakia, too. Probably, they will first try to work out new forms of coexistence and the catastrophe scenario will only start if that attempt fails. Whatever the

outcome, Czechoslovakia is facing a period of political uncertainty. The Czech and Slovak voters have had enough of unclear situations. However, they are now realizing that, by rejecting the current federal formation, they have plunged into darkness. They can only hope that there will not be shooting in their country.

Whatever starts now will be both agonizing and protractied. People are aware of the fact that it is difficult to maintain a joint country when each side thinks that the other always wins. The other question is whether two people like Klaus and Meciar can work together. Nor can we take it for granted that, in case of a split, the Czech lands will move toward the West, while Slovakia will move toward the East. What if, in the course of their wrestling, both sides drift toward the Balkans, together and irremediably?

This is something that Hungary is not interested in at all. We must openly and clearly tell our Czech and Slovak neighbors that few things are more important for our national security today than the civilized settlement of the Czech and Slovak political crisis. It is Hungary's obligation to do everything in its power to facilitate such a civilized settling of the crisis. A narrowminded and nationalistic Slovakia would be a great danger for us, not because of a possible military threat (an independent Slovakia would be weaker than Hungary both economically and militarily) but because an anti-Hungarian trend in Slovakia would also stir up emotions in Hungary and would play into the hands of the Hungarian irredentists. The political debate aired on Bratislava television on 7 June showed that the new Slovak political elite had not fully considered the consequences of trying to open the bottle containing the bad genie of this region.

Let us add that the unfortunate timing of the abrogation of the Bos agreement is becoming increasingly obvious.

Hungary cannot be indifferent to what is beginning in our immediate neighborhood. We must follow the events in Bratislava with increased attention!

Macierewicz Prevented From Reentering Ministry

LD1506112792 Warsaw PAP in English 1052 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 15—Interior Minister Antoni Macierewicz claimed that he had been forcibly prevented from entering the Interior Ministry (MSW) on Monday.

"I was prevented from carrying out my constitutional duties," said Macierewicz. "Lieutenant Plewa blocked my access to the ministry building, which I am constitutionally in charge of, by shutting the MSW gate," said the minister who was "holidayed" as soon as new prime minister Waldemar Pawlak took office.

Macierewicz said he would bring Monday's incident to the attention of the Sejm (Lower House) Presidium. MSW spokesman Wojciech Wroblewski admitted that Macierewicz had not been allowed into the ministry building but denied that any force had been used.

He added that a few days ago at the premiers request, Macierewicz had officially handed over the direction of the MSW to Andrzej Milczanowski. Wroblewski announced that a communique on the matter would be published.

Asks for Public Trial

LD1306220892 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 1900 GMT 13 Jun 92

[Text] Minister of Internal Affairs Antoni Macierewicz told the "Panorama" television news program that he wants to stand before the Tribunal of State on the condition that this trial be made public.

The Extraordinary Sejm Commission for the implementation of the vetting resolution has interrogated a few high Interior Ministry officials together with Minister Macierewicz. Often the deputies' questions were aimed at establishing whether the KGB has the exact data on the Security Office and the Security Service agents which it could use to blackmail Polish politicians. During the commission's work unofficial information was revealed on the joint data bank system on opponents which is headquartered in Moscow.

[Begin recording] [First unidentified speaker] The system served for integrating information and passing to the Moscow headquarters the data on Security Service collaborators. There were names of very famous members of the Polish opposition.

[Second unidentified speaker] The system did not serve to exchange information on agents; it was an exchange of information on the opponents at the time. Who was in the system? There were 16 categories, including foreign espionage agents, diplomatic and consular staff, ideological saboteurs, traitors, and terrorists.

[First speaker] What is left today in Poland is limited to questions about the group of people whom we could describe as terrorists, spies, and so on. It is obvious that the whole list also included members of the opposition. [end recording]

Who is right in this argument is for the commission to decide. We have learned from unofficial sources that the majority of deputies will table a motion for Minister Macierewicz to appear before the Tribunal of State.

[Begin Macierewicz recording] I want this very much. I would want the tribunal sittings to be public so that the whole of Poland can learn the truth that was hidden and used to manipulate. This is what I want. [end recording]

Sejm Questions Interior Ministry Officials

LD1406225192 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 1900 GMT 11 Jun 92

[Text] On Monday [15 June], former Prime Minister Jan Olszewski will face the extraordinary Sejm commission examining the implementation of the vetting law.

Today, the Sejm commission is interviewing Piotr Wojciechowski, head of the Interior Ministry's team that carried out the selection of the archival materials relating to Security Administration [UB] and Security Service [SB] agents. As we have unofficially discovered, both Wojciechowski and Piotr Naimski, the former head of the State Protection Office [UOP], who was interviewed yesterday, have admitted to the commission that there were no clearly formulated criteria on paper for the placing of a given person on the list of agents.

From these same sources, we have learned that the list of former UB and SB collaborators does not contain those deputies who, in the view of those drawing up the lists, were agents of the special services of the Polish People's Republic and later signed documents of cooperation with the UOP. Naimski told journalists that documents from the archives of the Interior Ministry earlier shown to President Lech Walesa are already in the possession of the commission. He said these files are in part directly linked with the president. From the explanations of the persons interviewed by the commission, it transpires that all the important decisions of Antoni Macierewicz and Piotr Naimski were made after consultations with Prime Minister Olszewski. For this reason, the deputies decided to call the former prime minister to issue clarifications. Jan Olszewski will face the commission this coming Monday.

We have also discovered unofficially that during his interview today by the Sejm commission, former UOP head Piotr Naimski said the KGB can blackmail Polish politicians at any time.

Late into this evening, 26 members of the Sejm commission examined archives at the building of the Interior Ministry. Journalists were asked to leave the ministry building after 10 minutes or so.

Former UOP head Piotr Naimski was heard for several hours. Unofficially, we were told that during his talk

with deputies, the former UOP head explained the reasons for the scrutiny undertaken by the Interior Ministry. In his view, there is proof that it was intended to blackmail those who once cooperated with the UB and SB and today hold important posts in the state. The authors of this plan were, Piotr Naimski said, former employees of the special services functioning in accord with persons who are still employed in the Interior Ministry. The aim of the blackmail, Naimski said, was to exert influence on the political situation in Poland.

The second important reason for the revelation of former agents was the consciousness that data on the UB and SB agents had been sent to Moscow in the framework of the unified information documentation system about the enemy [word indistinct]. It is the view of the former UOP head that the KGB can be expected at any moment to make use of it. However, no direct attempts from abroad to blackmail Polish politicians have so far been confirmed.

During the commission's work, big differences of opinion appeared between the deputies working there. The differences relate both to the methods and the purpose of the examination of part of the Interior Ministry's archival material.

Olszewski Skips Hearings

LD1506141392 Warsaw PAP in English 1201 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 15—Despite invitation, former Prime Minister Jan Olszewski failed to turn up at interrogation to be held Monday [15 Jun] by the Sejm commission for the examination of the implementation of the May 28 Sejm resolution on disclosing communist secret service agents by the Interior Ministry.

"Perhaps we did not send the summons by return post as provided by the code of penal procedure," chairman of the commission Jerzy Ciemniewski told PAP. He added that perhaps the commission would apply this form of summons towards Olszewski.

Milczanowski on Increased Readiness of Units

LD1206163492 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1500 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Excerpts] On 4 June at 1030 [0930 GMT], Piotr Naimski, the present head of the State Protection Office, ordered the commander of the Nadwislanskie military units to introduce a state of heightened battle readiness for these units. Andrzej Milczanowski, head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, told journalists about this. A second task related to the direction of soldiers to the defense of the Radio and Television Affairs Committee. On 5 June at 0800, Colonel Jozef Petko, commander of the Nadwislanskie units, on his own initiative rescinded the state of increased readiness.

Here is Andrzej Milczanowski.

[Begin Milczanowski recording] I would like to ask the basis for which Minister Naimski, as transpires from the words of Colonel Petko, instructed the commander of the Nadwislanskie military units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs to introduce a state of heightened readiness? I would like Minister Macierewicz and Minister Naimski to answer for what purpose the instruction to the commander of the Nadwislanskie military units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs on the introduction of a state of heightened readiness was issued. [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish at 1603 GMT on 12 June adds the following: "A moment ago we spoke to Piotr Naimski, former head of the State Protection Office. He stated that he had not given the order to put the Nadwislanskie military units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in a state of combat readiness. He only ordered that the guard around the ministry building be reinforced."]

Pawlak Calls Reports of Appointments 'Speculation'

LD1506094192 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0600 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Text] Premier Waldemar Pawlak was the guest of the "Sygnaly Dnia" [breakfast program on Warsaw Radio]. Here are his replies to a few questions from listeners.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] The new week is starting. What hopes do you have for it? What are your plans?

[Pawlak] I hope we will finish the talks on the programmatic agreement and that we will start more interesting talks on the structure of the Council of Ministers. I think that one has to act here quite quickly to bring to an end the formation of the government in a possibly short time.

[Correspondent] The newspapers have already filled all the posts. Do you confirm any of these speculations?

[Pawlak] I would say that speculations will always exist, but the newspapers as always are too fast.

[Correspondent] Mr. Premier, a lot of gossip is being spread. For example, we could see you together with Minister Kropiwnicki in the "Wiadomosci" evening program. And the gossip was spread again that here we have one man who was there and is going to stay.

[Pawlak] I met with Minister Kropiwnicki at the Poznan Fair. And I work with Minister Kropiwnicki on a daily basis. The minister is the head of the Ministry of Labor, and there were no problems so far. The collaboration works very well.

[Correspondent] But let's say, there are problems with other ministers. Today in our morning bulletin our listeners could hear that Minister Macierewicz

announced that because his vacation had ended, he will turn up at his office at Rakowiecka Street at 0815. What will happen then?

[Pawlak] As far as I know, Minister Macierewicz has not been recalled from vacation by anybody, and it would do him good to rest after these very emotional events of the last week. [end recording]

Pawlak Issues Statement on Coalition Talks

LD1306201992 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 13 Jun 92

[Text] Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak's news conference started an hour and a half late. He was accompanied by all the participants in the consultations on the creation of a government. The week's negotiations were summed up in a statement read by the prime minister.

[Begin Pawlak recording] The Congress of Liberal Democrats [KLD], the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN], the Polish Economic Program [PPG], the Polish Peasants Party [PSL] and the Democratic Union [UD] state that the talks have resulted in the following conclusions: First, the parties agree to the expediency of a swift passing of a small constititution, the quick passing of an electoral law for the Sejm and Senate, the undertaking of measures aimed at assuring the rule of law, the passing of a radio and television law, and striving toward an objective information policy.

The second point is that the supreme aim of the above parties is the energetic implementation of systemic reforms aimed at an improvement in the public's standard of living by stimulating the economy and stopping inflation. With this they aim at the liquidation of the assets of the banking system associated with the partial reduction of the debts of enterprises and undertaking active measures to reduce unemployment, including also public works. These measures should effect areas of particularly high unemployemt. The overcoming of credit barriers for the economy by the gradual lowering of the interest rates for credit, bearing in mind the consideration of stopping inflation, the solution of the problem of payment blockages, the stabilization of taxation and customs rules, [word indistinct] from the present mechanisms of taxing growth in pay, and quick privatization.

The third point is that the principles of a joint economic policy of this government were not agreed based on the following: The KLD, PPG, UD, and PSL consider that an attempt should be made to implement the Budget Law which has been passed in accord with its contents as passed by the Sejm. The KPN sees the need for work being started immediately on a Budget Law so that it will be possible to finance antirecessionary measures from the budget. The KLD, PPG, UD, and PSL regard the procedure for real growth in the supply of money as agreed in the accepted principles of monetary policy as correct; moreover, the PSL sees within that growth the solution [words indistinct] of credit action for the economic sector. The KPN considers that the emission of money ought to reflect the needs of the economy in the sphere of breaking the recession.

The fourth point is that the creation of a majority government requires further talks and consultation. We have agreed to hold such a meeting in a political format on Monday afternoon at about 1800. However, experts are going to work in the morning on overcoming the difficulties that have become apparent here [words indistinct words]. [end recording]

Pawlak Urges Patience on Talks With Parties

LD1306061292 Warsaw PAP in English 2308 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 12—Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak concluding Friday's [12 Jun] consultations with leaders of the Democratic Union (UD), the Liberal-Democratic Congress (KLD), the Polish Economic Program (PPG) and the Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN) told reporters: "Have some more patience and there will be effects." The premier added that experts of the would-be coalition came closer to reaching agreement. He also expressed hope that chances of success of his mission "are increasing after each day."

Participants in the consultations shared the opinion that the budget, especially the fiscal policy, remains to be the biggest problem.

"There are some very basic differences which must be explained," said UD leader Tadeusz Mazowiecki. "We are of the opinion that the government, which will be formed, should be efficient, thus should not be constructed on misunderstandings." In Mazowiecki's opinion political stabilization as well as economic consistency is necessary to boost the national economy.

Janusz Lewandowski of the KLD said after the meeting: "The KPN sees a chance to boost economy in the increase of money supply, while the KLD sees in it only a chance to increase inflation."

KPN leaders Leszek Moczulski and Krzysztof Krol repeated their stand on the necessity to increase the money supply. "We must work on a new economic programme which would pull out Poland out of the crisis," stressed Moczulski. He also said that he would prefer for the coalition to move more to the right.

The negotiations, to be continued on Saturday, are to be preceded by a meeting of party experts.

Four Parties To Oppose Pawlak Government

LD1306133992 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1300 GMT 13 Jun 92

[Text] After a discussion lasting an hour and a half, experts from the Polish Peasant's Party [PSL], the Democratic Union [UD], the Liberal Democratic Congress

[KLD], the Polish Economic Program [PPG], and the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] failed to reach full agreement on the budget and monetary policy. The greatest differences of opinion are between the KPN—which wants a larger emission of money—and the KLD, which opposes this. The experts conveyed their positions to the politicians, who went for consultations to Premier Waldemar Pawlak.

[Correspondent Monika Olejnik] The most important thing is what Premier Pawlak's expose will begin with: will he speak about the immediate changes that have to be made to the budget or will he implement the budget passed by the Sejm? This question is being asked during today's meeting of the Three [UD, KLD, and PPG], the KPN, and Premier Waldemar Pawlak. The KPN does not want to abandon its decisions: it is demanding amendments to the budget.

Meanwhile, this morning four parties—the ZChN [Christian National Union], the PC [Center Alliance], the PL [Peasant Alliance], and the Christian Peasant Party [SChL] signed a declaration, in which they dissociate themselves from Premier Pawlak. They are demanding the formation of a majority government, with a premier whose roots are in Solidarity. The ZChN parliamentary party is supposed to be meeting this afternoon, when it is to purge itself, i.e. exclude some deputies. This is Monika Olejnik speaking from the Sejm.

[Announcer] In an interval in the consultations with Premier Pawlak, the politicians stated that, up to now, matters had not moved forward.

Party Officials Comment on Coalition Talks

LD1306112292 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1005 GMT 13 Jun 92

[Text] [Announcer] At midday [1000 GMT], a meeting began between political leaders of the Polish Peasants' Party [PSL], the Democratic Union [UD], the Confederation for Independent Poland [KPN], the Polish Economic Program [PPG], and the Liberal Democratic Congress [KLD]. From 1000, the economic experts of these groups held meetings. We asked participants for an evaluation of the results of the three rounds of coalition talks so far.

Tomasz Pankowski, of PPG:

[Begin recording] [Pankowski] I judge that a certain deeper understanding has ensued, but also a deeper understanding of two fundamental matters, one relating to the implementation of the budget and the second relating to financial policy, that is monetary policy.

[Unidentified correspondent] Do you count on the final success of these talks?

[Pankowski] The talks are difficult, but they allow for the specification of not just the things that unite us, but also those things that divide us. [end recording]

[Announcer] Tadeusz Mazowiecki, UD:

[Begin Mazowiecki recording] Very significant differences remain as regards this basic problem. (?That means) the budget and monetary policy, especially monetary policy. The point is that the government that is being created ought to be an effective government. Its creation cannot be based on misunderstandings on the matter of economic policy. That is why we will be seeking a clarification on this. And apart from that, we are not in favor of the dragging out of these talks, and we judge that, well, this ought to be clarified. In the previous phase, there was undoubtedly a coming closer between our position and the position of the PSL, which [words indistinct]. [end recording]

[Announcer] Leszek Moczulski, KPN:

[Begin recording] [Moczulski] Very difficult talks, very detailed and thus very substantive. Very substantive, we are talking of just substantive matters on the economy and economics. Here, experts have presented us with a whole series of solutions. At times they are helpless, at times not. The Confederaton is not concerned, as someone put it, that they are concerned with entering the government but have some strange ideas. Well, we are not concerned with entering the new government. On the other hand, we feel that maximum patience is required, as a new program must be developed that will drag the country out of crisis. But this must be a new program.

[Correspondent] But it is also said that you are not concerned with the creation of this government and on the creation of this coalition, that you are just dragging out the talks.

[Moczulski] I sincerely admit that I would prefer that this coalition shift itself to the right.

[Correspondent] And will you be making efforts to extend this coalition to the right?

[Moczulski] Well, that's where we find people who are sensible. Definitely not [words indistinct]. Definitely not people who would for their self-preservation instinct—(?such) a coalition would be capable of draging us all down. [sentence indistinct] Well, there have been a number of political suicides recently. [sentence indistinct] [end recording]

Pawlak Stresses Stability for Foreign Investment

LD1406215192 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2000 GMT 14 Jun 92

[Text] Premier Waldemar Pawlak was today the guest of a conference entitled "A test of will—the next phase of the reform in Central Europe." Foreign businessmen interested in investing in Poland are attending. The premier was asked by our reporter what arguments he would use to convince foreign businessmen to invest in Poland. He replied:

[begin Pawlak recording] The lack of political and legal stability, that is the fundamental problem which we must quickly overcome so as to create stable prospects for foreign investors, and I think it will also be a very important argument for Polish investors, so that they can operate with a certain perspective. If we are talking about the coalition talks, those talks (?have also dealt with) mechanisms for effecting political and legal stability, which would guarantee certainty in investment. For example, when discussing the agreement on associate status with the EC, we recognized that it should be encased in legal solutions of a type that would enable our economy to fully utilize the opportunity contained in that agreement. [end recording]

Solidarity Accepts Anti-Walesa Resolution

LD1306121492 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1100 GMT 13 Jun 92

[Excerpts] Former Premier Jan Olszewski met delegates to the fourth National Congress of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity in Gdansk today.

[Correspondent Bozena Leszczynska] In contrast to the president, Jan Olszewski was received and listened to with the full approval of the hall. This, it could be seen, delighted the former premier. During his speech, a real spirit of settling accounts hovered over the assembly. Jan Olszewski devoted a large part of his speech to the issue of the implementation of the vetting resolution.

[Olszewski] I would like to proceed to the matter that became the direct cause of the collapse of my Cabinet: the notorious files affair. Some people have the courage to talk about a coup organized by the government. The government was in power; it exerted it formally. If it were to have organized a coup, it would have had to organize a coup against itself, but I will pass over the absurd assumption.

It is often said, abusing the word, that humanitarianism demands that it not be spoken of, that it be forgotten. I assure you that this is false humanitarianism. The next alternative will be those political forces that have blocked this process for the past two years, so that the process of cleansing no longer will be possible.

[Announcer] That report was prepared by Bozena Leszczynska.

Critical remarks addressed to Jan Olszewski's government appeared toward the end of the more than two-hour meeting between Congress delegates and the former premier. [passage omitted]

The Congress delegates passed a resolution in which they express outrage at recent events in Poland and the role played in them by President Lech Walesa. The resolution was supported by 239 of the 290 delegates. In the document, the Congress demands immediate statutory decommunization in Poland. It opposes the handover of power to post-Communist forces and a halt to the revelation of UB and SB [Security Office and Security Services] collaborators. The delegates expect the president, government, and parliament to carry out their obligations toward society reliably. They say they will no longer tolerate their inefficiency, incompetence, and bad will. They demand antirecessionary measures and the rapid passing of a new Constitution and Sejm election regulations, as well as the nationalization and decommunization of radio and television. The Fourth National Congress of Delegates of NSZZ Solidarity demands the implementation of the promises given by the president of the Republic to the nation, the resolution states.

Olszewski Addresses New Party's Congress

LD1306202892 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1730 GMT 13 Jun 92

[Excerpts] The founding congress of the Christian Democratic Union is holding debates. The union had been part of the Center Accord. In his speech to the assembly Jan Olszewski said that some of the politicians who come from Solidarity have stopped understanding the interests of the state and the nation. [passage omitted]

In his speech the former prime minister returned to the matter of the government's overthrow and to the events of the past week. He declared that the process of revealing agents can not be terminated since it is important for Poland's security.

[Begin Olszewski recording] As prime minister I received reliable signals that services of foreign countries interested in Polish affairs had at their disposal materials or tried to obtain materials regarding this matter and everything points to the fact that they also made attempts to use them for their own ends. [sentence as heard] [end recording]

Olszewski added that in every normal democratic country people who aspire to public posts are checked. Saying that this kind of procedure is a violation of human rights would be received as a joke in those countries. He reminded his listeners that a Sejm resolution obliged his ministers to execute their duties until such time as a new government is formed. That is why he accused the new prime minister of illegally dismissing the heads of the ministries of defense, internal affairs, and the office of the Council of Ministers.

Olszewski Removed from Center Accord Membership

LD1206211892 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1400 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Text] We have just received the news that the chairman of the Main Board of the Center Accord has said that the decision to deprive people who announced their membership of the Christian Democratic Forum of membership of the Center Accord also applies to former premier Jan Olszewski.

Center Accord Stresses Anti-Communist Campaign

LD1406221192 Warsaw PAP in English 2133 GMT 14 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 14—The second congress of the Center Accord whose first round ended in Warsaw Sunday firmly came out in favour of decommunization and unmasking of former communist secret police agents.

In a resolution the congress appealed for prompt and radical decommunization of Polish political, social and economic life. "In face of the intensifying counteroffensive of postcommunist forces" the congress authorised party leaders to take all possible actions with a view to halting the process of recommunization.

Reelected leader of the party Jaroslaw Kaczynski said that possible cooperation with President Lech Walesa depended on the basic change of the direction of the latter's policy. He appealed to the president to implement his program from the election campaign, that is the program of decommunization and acceleration.

In another resolution the congress said that the process of changes in Poland should be carried out only by the center-right bloc able to forge alliances. "We must defend the system of parliamentary democracy against semi-democratic solutions which bypass law."

At a press conference after the end of the debates Kaczynski said that a representative of the Solidarity camp should become prime minister in the name of avoiding a danger and in the interest of millions of Poles. His party took into consideration the prospect of early parliamentary elections.

With regard to the controversial issue of disclosing the files of former communist secret service agents Kaczynski stated that the Sejm decision of May 28 to unmask those persons had been right. The congress called for dismissing all former agents from state posts.

Participants in the congress also called for urgently starting the legislative work leading to legal protection of unborn child.

During the discussion on resolutions Jacek Maziarski, one of the party's leaders, stated that at the moment Poland was not a strong and safe country. Neither is it democratic and fully independent according to him.

Slawomir Siwek told the congress that the treaty on association with the EC did not guarantee that Poland's road to Europe would be consistent. He announced that the Center Accord supported this country's full membership in the EC and NATO, charging that Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski pursues a policy which is rather conducive to Poland's joining the Commonwealth of Independent States and staying outside European structures.

The second round of the congress will be held next October.

Russian General Presents Withdrawal Figures

LD1206204992 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1730 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Text] Before leaving for Moscow, General Victor Dubynin, the former chief of the Northern Group of the Soviet Army in Poland who was recently appointed Russia's first deputy defense minister, informed Janusz Onyszkiewicz, the head of the Ministry of National Defense, about the time-table for the withdrawal from Poland of the troops of the former Soviet Army.

By the end of the year, more than 15,500 soldiers will be withdrawn. Almost 6,000 will still remain in Poland. As of 1 January, there will not be any heavy Russian military equipment in our country. Victor Dubynin handed Janusz Onyszkiewicz a map that shows the location and numbers of former Soviet Union troops.

Iliescu Discusses Minority, Moldovan Issues

AU1206115892 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 5 Jun 92 pp 1,8

[Part three of interview with President Ion Iliescu, by Aurel Perva; place and date not given: "Ethnic Minorities Enjoy Full Rights"]

[Text] [Perva] I found it very interesting and useful that, during a meeting you had with several reporters recently, you mentioned certain projects that seemed very beneficial for us, such as the prospects of the Danube-Black Sea Canal, setting up free zones....

[Iliescu] Yes, indeed, during the discussions I held with certain representatives of Japanese and American companies that are involved in Middle East oil drilling, we discovered that they are also interested in making use of certain refining capacities in closer areas. Well, we have our own, interesting refining capacities of a relatively high competitive technological level. Those representatives assessed that with a minor investment of capital our refineries might be brought to an adequate level of competitiveness, because—according to them—we have qualified engineers and workers. Clearly, such a prospect seemed attractive to me, because it connects certain closer oil drilling zones to our processing capacities in refineries and in the petrochemical industry. Likewise, we found interesting the prospects that the Danube-Rhine trans-European waterway and our seaside area, the Danube-Black Sea Canal, and the Danube ports, might become an area of broader interest not only for Romania but Europe as well, for countries close to us, and for Japanese and American firms. In this respect, the setting up of Constanta Port free zone, as well as along the Danube-Black Sea Canal and in several Danube ports, might be interesting for foreign firms that want to penetrate the European market through mixed ventures or firms, in order to set up assembly platforms or storage areas. Thus, these are interesting projects. Even the American delegation that I received recently included representatives of certain economic circles, who look with interest upon Romanian economic prospects, because of our natural material and human potential as well as because of Romania's geographical position.

[Perva] The internal stability is an essential condition to make this interest take concrete shape.

[Iliescu] Yes, it is. Both the internal stability and the stability in this area. From this point of view, in spite of the difficulties of our processes in the past more than two years period, currently in this region Romania represents a relative stability, something that is valued with increased frequency by those who visit our country and who examine the evolution of the possibilities in this area of Europe and in this area of contact between Europe and the Middle East.

Those experts say that it is not only in our interest—as a matter of fact this was the subject of our dialogue with the American side—to consolidate this area of stability, to become a factor of balance for the future in this area full of tension.

[Perva] NATO has the intention to come closer to Russia and thus maintain a balance in this respect. It seems that although initially they announced that they were not interested in former East European countries, now they are taking steps toward the East.

[Iliescu] This is proof of the evolution of the political thinking in this alliance. We have also noted this aspect of the political role of this organization, which might become a factor of balance in Europe, aimed at eliminating the effects of thinking in terms of political blocks that dominated the European political thinking and eliminating the separation according to ideological criteria and in light of military and political confrontations. After the elimination of this remnant of the past, the political thinking of all current bodies should change, the desire for general European integration on all planes should take shape, and thus, a new balance should be established in Europe. Within this context, we have already proceeded to an adequate opening toward all European bodies, in order to introduce such a new element in our relations with other European nations.

[Perva] Romanian-Hungarian relations have been in deadlock for quite some time now. We also know the reason for this deadlock. Could you discuss the current state of Romanian-Hungarian relations?

[Iliescu] I believe that an element of realism is required in the approach to these relations. In this respect, we have not succeeded in finding a common language. Although certain promising circumstances have emerged, including the recent Budapest meeting of the representatives of the two Foreign Ministries, which was aimed precisely at finding ways to overcome this moment and finalize the treaty. I do not know whether in the end, this rational element will win after all, because, realistically, it is neither in our nor in Hungary's interest to maintain this state of suspicion. The cause of our bitterness is that certain irresponsible factors are creating tension and are feeding the false impression to international circles that the rights of ethnic minorities are disregarded in Romania. But, objectively, anyone who comes to Romania and has a close look at this phenomenon can see that, in fact, these are simple pretexts, because in reality, from a legal and institutional point of view and through our social and political practice, ethnic minorities enjoy full rights here. If there are problems, they are the same for the entire population of Romania, for Romanians and for minorities alike. Then how come, that only the Hungarians are dissatisfied, while all the other minorities face these realities just like the rest of the Romanian people? This fact for example was included also in the treaty that we concluded with Germany; the representatives of the German minorities made positive statements in this respect. Thus, it is strange that precisely the minority that has the most possibilities and enjoys full rights, claims that its

rights and freedoms are infringed! Does Hungary have the right to admonish others or to give advice? For two years, they have been discussing the status of or a law for minorities and still have not succeeded in reaching a conclusion! From this point of view, I believe that it would be better if each of us swept before his own door. Let us refrain from giving lessons to others and show more regard and more respect toward the other side instead. Then, probably we will find a language of understanding, of rapprochement on every subject of common interest. And I believe that we do have many common interests. We are neighbors, we are facing many similar problems, and we are interested in developing relations in all areas. It is impossible not to find a common language.

[Perva] What can you say about the reports published by the Senatorial Commission regarding the December 1989 events? Assuming that absolute truth amounts to 100 percent, what proportion has Senator Sergiu Nicolaescu succeeded in finding out?

[Iliescu] Last week, I read two of these reports referring to that "war of information." There are many interesting aspects included in them; I do not have a global view regarding all aspects, but I believe that it is an attempt to clarify certain things. What results from this report is the difficulty of shedding light on such a complex process that has upset a whole country; if someone believes that he has answers to all the problems that stem from such a process, then he is mistaken. Never in history have answers been found to all problems generated by similar processes. It is 200 years since the French Revolution and each year, at each anniversary of that event, new elements come to light; probably our historians will have much ground to explore before they clarify new aspects of this process.

[Perva] A real scandal emerged around the issue of the former Securitate files. How do you envisage solutions to this problem?

[Iliescu] I did not want to take a stand on this issue because, the truth of the matter is, I still have a question: what is better? As far as I am concerned, I always agree that the whole truth should be disclosed. However, I realized that such a solution might cause a general disturbance and would cause more harm than good. On the other hand, the other proposal seemed to me cautious and wise, namely to seal and keep the files stored for a while, until time has eliminated emotions and passions.

I see that after all the Parliament has agreed on a proposal that a Parliamentary Commission should examine ways of gaining access to those files. However, you saw what response even the beginning of discussions caused. Those who were the supporters of the total disclosure ("...let us know the whole truth and let us see the files") have panicked. Therefore, as you see, this is not at all a simple issue because it brings about profound social psychological problems. In general, we should show more composure and wisdom.

[Perva] A last question: if you were to send a message to our brothers beyond the Prut, what would you tell them?

[Iliescu] As far as we are concerned, a message was sent a long time ago. They are our brothers and we received the proclamation of the Republic of Moldova as a major political act, which ensures a new status to our conationals and the possibility to assert their autonomy. Some people are making waves and I noticed that they accuse me of having something against the union of the two countries. I believe that the union is a process that can take place, if we take into consideration primarily the will of those involved. Well, what we noticed during our visit to Chisinau is that many citizens are reserved on the issue of reunion. Maybe their reserve is also connected with the difficulties in the political and economic life in Romania, with the noisy manifestations of certain extremist tendencies, and with certain processes of disorganization, dismantling, and destruction in agriculture, which created a certain feeling of reserve in connection with the unification process. I understand very well this natural aspiration to reunite, but let us take into consideration realities! Let us take into consideration primarily the option of people in the Republic of Moldova and support them in all their efforts to consolidate what they have won. Let us not ignore the current international circumstances either, the obligations that derive from international commitments regarding the inviolability of borders on our continent.

[Perva] Thank you.

Karadzic Discusses Latest Cease-Fire Proposal

AU1206173192 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1435 GMT 12 June 92

[Interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Presidency of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, by Belgrade Radio correspondent Vladimir Nikolic in Belgrade on 12 June—recorded]

[Text] [Nikolic] Dr. Karadzic, could you please explain more about your latest proposal, a peace initiative, that is to say, an initiative on the end of hostilities in Sarajevo?

[Karadzic] We have proclaimed a complete and unilateral end of hostilities for the second time in order to make it possible for the other side to accept it. We are also calling upon the UN forces to become more engaged in Bosnia-Hercegovina. In our previous message to UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali, we proposed that the entire town of Sarajevo be put under the protection of the UN forces and that all armed forces in Sarajevo, except the Serbian police in the Serbian parts of town and the Muslim police in the Muslim parts, pull out of the town. This would be the only salvation for this suffering town and its residents. There is no other way; nobody can order the Serbian people in Sarajevo to surrender and expose themselves to massacres, to which those Serbs who live on the territories under the control of the Muslim police are exposed.

We also proposed to Mr. Ghali that at least 800 UN officers be sent who would be deployed on all our positions so that they could testify whether the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina are aggressors or whether they are defending their hearths.

[Nikolic] [words indistinct] presented to the journalists here today it is stated that now is not the right time to ascribe blame, but the time to find a solution for the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Mr. Karadzic, with regard to information that you presented to journalists today, which concerns the situation in Posavina and Hercegovina, what is the actual and realistic possibility for ending the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Karadzic] I think that besides the will to end the war by the second and the third party, there should also be an initiative of the international community toward the Republic of Croatia, that is to say, pressure upon the Republic of Croatia for it also to withdraw all its armed forces from Bosnia-Hercegovina. We know that these forces are very numerous, we even know which formations are present there. As the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] is being deployed in Croatia, they are transferring the forces to the Hercegovina battlefield and to Posavina. Furthermore, it is the EC's duty to put pressure on Izetbegovic [Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency president] to remain faithful to the Conference and the principles that were adopted at the Conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina, which were in a way a condition for the EC to recognize Bosnia-Hercegovina. Izetbegovic, of course, deceived the EC and if the EC does not insist and put pressure on Izetbegovic, the EC will deceive us. Therefore, the EC is no broker; rather, the EC is an interested party in the conflict here, and if the EC does not insist upon observation of what has already been agreed, then it would be more than apparent that the EC [passage indistinct].

[Nikolic] Mr. Karadzic, the greatest pressure of the international community is currently aimed at reopening Butmir Airport. Tell us in more detail what the situation is like there, and what your proposals are concerning reopening of the airport.

[Karadzic] From the moment we announced that we want the airport to be reopened and put under the UN's control, the Muslim forces have been attacking continuously, wanting to gain control over the airport and reopen it, not for humanitarian purposes but to bring arms and mercenaries to continue the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The Serbian side is holding the airport firmly and will not give it away to anybody but the UN. It will do this in an orderly way, namely, the Serbian forces will be pulling out as the UN forces are arriving. The airport is situated on the territory of the Serbian commune of Ilidza. I heard that General Mackenzie said that they did not come to change the territorial situation but to reopen the airport, and we agree completely with this and will facilitate the reopening. I believe that reopening of the airport is inevitable and that the Muslim forces cannot achieve anything there.

[Nikolic] Mr. Karadzic, only one more question. Could you please state for Radio Belgrade and Radio Novi Sad what the current situation is in Bosnia with regard to the recent news that we received from the former Bosnia-Hercegovina that Mr. Izetbegovic [president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency] stated that the formation of a military alliance between Croatia and the former Bosnia-Hercegovina can be expected.

[Karadzic] Well, this alliance exists unofficially. Izetbegovic has been tolerating the Croatian armed troops in Bosnia-Hercegovina for a long time and he wishes to legalize them now. The formation of a Croatian-Muslim alliance is a perfect repetition of the situation in 1941 and will probably lead to further escalation of the war, primarily in Bosnia-Hercegovina but perhaps also on wider territories. The Serbs, who together with the Yugoslavs make up 35 percent of the population in Bosnia-Hercegovina, cannot long resist the Croatian-Muslim coalition, which makes up 65 percent.

The Serbs will have to fight desperately to defend their homes and territories. Naturally, those who are defending themselves need slightly fewer forces that those who attack. However, the rump state of Muslim-Croatian Bosnia-Hercegovina and the state of Croatia stand behind the Croatian-Muslim coalition, but nobody stands behind the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina but themselves and God. We rely on God and ourselves in managing to resist and defend ourselves. If this is not the

case, an escalation is inevitable, and the war could expand over wider territories.

[Nikolic] Only one more short question. Would you please comment on the statements, first, that Serbia, the motherland [matica], will abandon you; and second, demands by the Serbian opposition for replacement of Serbian President Milosevic?

[Karadzic] Serbia will never abandon us, but we completely understand the situation in which Serbia has unjustly found itself. Serbia was accused of waging the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, although it is clear to everybody that it is not waging the war. We stressed several times that we do not require anything from Serbia but moral support, and of course, food and medicine. I do not believe that anybody would prevent this or blame Serbia for helping us with food and medication. If even this is not possible, we will continue to understand the situation in Serbia and we will never renounce our mother nation [matica, narod] and our motherland of Serbia, although Bosnia is also our motherland as Bosnia, the Serbian Bosnia, belongs to us. The Serbian people will be able to overcome these troubles, we will all suffer in solidarity and endure it, and nobody shall make us enemies with Serbia.

Regarding the demands for the resignation of President Milosevic, I said that I would like to know whether this was demanded by the 35 percent of voters who did not vote for him or the 65 percent of voters who voted for him but have now changed their minds. The opposition has a right to demand a change of government. If I were in the opposition, however, I would not have chosen the moment of the greatest external pressure upon Serbia to put forward demands that are otherwise legitimate but are at this moment very unfortunate and risky for the political future of all the sides that are willy-nilly demonstrating solidarity with the external pressures upon Serbia.

Says Serbs Prepared for 'Compromise'

LD1206151892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1041 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 12 Jun (TANJUG)—Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina will declare a unilateral cease-fire on Monday, 15 June, at 0600, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Presidency of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, stated at a news conference in Belgrade. [passage omitted]

Having stressed that the Serb positions are open for inspection by the UN peace mission, Karadzic explained that the cease-fire did not cover Sarajevo alone. Our desire is a comprehensive and lasting truce, he said. [passage omitted]

The Serb side is prepared to offer a compromise at a peace conference. This compromise will imply that Bosnia-Hercegovina remains within its present borders but that its three constituent nations maintain links within a loose federation or confederation, Karadzic explained, adding that even an agreement about the territories is possible. Any other concessions will be difficult to make, he said, stressing a unitary Bosnia-Hercegovina is not acceptable.

According to Karadzic, the nature of relations between the three national communities in the republic will be decided by either war or negotiations. He reiterated that the Serb side has never favored a war option, adding that this was borne by the fact that in Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs made up 35 percent of the population and others 65 percent.

Asked to comment on whether the Serbian authorities in Serbia would disown him under international pressure, as they did previously with Milan Babic, Karadzic said: "I am not a part of the Serbian authorities so they cannot disown me." A million and a half Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina have their own bodies, parliament, government, and only they can disown their representatives, Karadzic continued.

Speaking about the attack the night before last on the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] vehicles, Karadzic said the peace-keeping forces crossed 200 km of Serbian territory and the shooting occurred only as the convoy approached the positions of the green berets. He added that he knows for certain that the Serbian side did not open fire, and he noted that "Radio Sarajevo knows that as well, because had they been sure, they would have accused the Serbian side at once."

The Serbs will withdraw in phases from around Sarajevo airport as the UNPROFOR forces take up their positions, Karadzic explained. The Serbian side had agreed that all antiaircraft weapons should be removed to twice the distance from the airport and that all artillery should be placed under the control of UNPROFOR. If the peace-keeping forces agree to take control of all of Sarajevo, we will retain only our police forces, Karadzic added.

The talks between the Croats and Muslims on a confederation are seen by Karadzic as a smokescreen or a justification for the presence of Croatian forces in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Karadzic sees confirmation for this in Izetbegovic's indication of a military alliance with Croatia.

Asked where Arkan [leader of Serbian irregulars] is after being in Ilidza, Karadzic replied that Arkan is to be found in his office in Belgrade. [passage omitted]

Commenting on the demands for Slobodan Milosevic's resignation, Karadzic said that Milosevic had won 65 percent of votes. "It is one thing if 35 percent of the electorate that did not vote is calling for his resignation and quite another if his resignation is demanded by 65 percent of those who did cast their vote," Karadzic said, and went on to add that it was the opposition's democratic right to aks for resignations and a change of authority. To the rhetorical question if it was wise to

make such calls to coincide with external pressures, Karadzic said that he, personally, would never call for the resignation of his opponent at a time when the common state is under horrific pressure from the world public.

Speaking about the current situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Karadzic said the fighting is mainly waged in the areas where borders between constitutive units are expected to be. He pointed out that the position of Serb defenders in eastern Hercegovina became exceptionally difficult after the withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army. According to him, in that area Serbs are being attacked from both western Hercegovina and Croatia, from the Dubrovnik area. Daily bombardments of Trebinje and of civilian facilities, in particular, are designed to provoke the Serb side into bombarding Dubrovnik, which the Serb side will not do, Karadzic insisted.

He also drew attention to the presence of regular forces of the Croatian Army in Modrica and Doboj where the 101st, 106th, 107th, and 113th Brigades of the Croatian National Guard and some other units of unknown affiliation are engaged in the fighting.

The situation surrounding Sarajevo is also difficult since the Serbs, for fear of genocide, cannot lift the blockade of the city in light of threats of attacks by fresh Croatian forces and mercenaries, Karadzic stressed. [passage omitted]

MacKenzie, Bosnian Officials Discuss Cease-Fire

AU1306193492 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 13 June 92

[Zdenko Vranjes report from the International Press Center]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] General MacKenzie, chief of the UN Protection Force staff who is in charge of the operation for lifting of the blockade of the Sarajevo airport, this afternoon held talks again with Ejub Ganic, member of Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency. While a UN expert group was working together with the experts of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Government in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency building this morning, MacKenzie held talks with the representatives of the terrorists and the Army in Lukavica, that is to say, with Karadzic [president of the Presidency of Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina] and Mladic [commander of the armed forces of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina].

During his afternoon talks in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, MacKenzie conveyed Karadzic's message to Dr. Ganic offering that Ganic meet with some of the [Serbian Bosnia-Hercegovina] presidency members. Ganic rejected this offer in the name of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency on the grounds that this would be contrary to the position of not holding talks with criminals.

MacKenzie and Ganic also discussed Karadzic's cease-fire offer. The position of the Bosnia-Hercegovina state leadership, which Ganic conveyed to Mackenzie, is that the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina is observing the cease-fire that was established on 1 June, which is not the case with the terrorists; therefore, there is no need to establish a new cease-fire but merely to observe the earlier one. Ganic added that the latest offer by Karadzic is just another trick.

MacKenzie was very satisfied with the work of the UN expert group that worked in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency today. The UN experts will continue their work on Monday [15 June]. It is at the same time interesting and ridiculous what Mackenzie has conveyed, namely, that the Yugoslav Army, that is to say, the terrorists, claimed they were not bombing the Tuzla chemical complex.

Technical details relating to the opening of the Sarajevo airport were discussed today. We have unofficially learned that it was announced that simultaneously with the opening of the airport, a new UN resolution regarding the removal of artillery from a 20-km circle around the airport will also be issued. [passage omitted]

Talks With MacKenzie Reported

AU1306200492 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 13 Jun 92

[Ilija Guzina report from Sarajevo]

[Excerpts] Artillery fire started yesterday [12 Jun] at the districts of Grbavica, Soping, and Vraca—the districts held by the Serbian armed forces—and is continuing. True, the intensity of the fire is somewhat weaker than it was last night, but many Serbian houses and residential blocks are on fire, and many others have been damaged. [passage omitted]

An exchange of prisoners was carried out in Brijesce today: 390 green berets were exchanged for 67 Serbs.

Radovan Karadzic and General [Ratko] Mladic [commander of the armed forces of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina] have held negotiations with General MacKenzie of UNPROFOR. According to the assessments of both Karadzic and MacKenzie, the talks were successful. This is what Karadzic said:

[Begin Karadzic recording] The talks were held in a very satisfying manner. In fact, they developed—on the basis of what had already been signed—an agreement about the opening of the airport. It is beyond doubt that all sides think that the airport should be opened, and the Serbian side will do everything to help the airport open. We have three levels, three steps about which we must take care. One should first establish a stable truce, then remove antiaircraft artillery—both the Serb and the Muslim-Croatian side—out of the range of the airport, and open the airport and put it under the control of the UN forces for humanitarian (?cargoes).

Our civilian representatives are going to be at the airport and will be able to completely inspect what is brought to the airport. The Serbian side has been very concerned from the very beginning about the possibility that weapons or even mercenaries may be brought to the airport. However, we have definitely established that there are going to be no passengers, only humanitarian cargoes that will be available for inspection by our civilian representatives. They will be representatives of charity institutions [dobrotvor] who will be able to check any cargo and take part in the distribution of the humanitarian aid among three humanitarian associations. [end recording]

[Begin MacKenzie recording, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian reporter narration] I am here with Karadzic and Mladic to implement the plan agreed upon a week ago, General MacKenzie said in his statement to the Serbian Television correspondent. Progress has been achieved in the talks. The next step is to stabilize the cease-fire, to establish and concentrate the authorities and to firm up the supervision of UNPROFOR over all these authorities. When all that is fulfilled, when all these conditions are met, MacKenzie said, the Security Council is going to meet again and decide to get to the stage of opening the airport. The international public and the local population are interested in that, and it must happen. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Agreement Reached on Lifting Sarajevo Blockade

LD1306182892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1742 GMT 13 Jun 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 13 Jun (TANJUG)—An agreement was reached with UN representatives in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency today on conditions for lifting the blockade of Sarajevo airport. Bosnia-Hercegovina radio reports that UN representatives accepted the proposal by the republican presidency that the artillery be moved 20 km away from the airport.

Talks were also held on the accommodation of French experts and their security. According to information from the Bosnia-Hercegovina Ministry of Internal Affairs, members of the ministry loyal to Alija Izetbegovic would be responsible for the experts' security.

The ministry confirmed that it would abide by this agreement, especially with regard to establishing peace, which is in the interests of all citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Serbian Leader Asks For UN Pressure

LD1306190792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1552 GMT 13 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Jun (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Presidency of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, sent a telegram to UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali calling on him to exercise pressure on the "Croatian and Muslim" sides to confirm a cease-fire proclaimed by the leadership of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina which is to take effect at 6 o'clock [not further specified] on 15 June.

Karadzic stresses in his telegram that he understands that the United Nations has 1,000 people ready to be deployed as observers at Serbian positions in order to secure the implementation of the cease-fire. "I would like to ask you to let me have the conditions for the arrival of such forces," Karadzic stresses in his telegram.

"I would like to avail myself of this opportunity and ask you to provide us with urgent help in assuring that this cease-fire takes effect as soon as possible. We gave our clear guarantees and confirmation. I am nevertheless profoundly concerned about the fact that forces of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina will invest all their efforts to violate this cease-fire either at its very beginning or shortly upon its coming into force," Karadzic concludes in his telegram to the UN secretary general.

Zagreb Radio Reports Cease-Fire Violations

LD1506084392 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0805 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Excerpt] According to Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina, the cease-fire which was to take effect at 0600 [0400 GMT] this morning in Sarajevo is not holding. Machine-gun fire has been reported from Serbian positions on Vrace, while Hrasno hill, where several artillery shells fell earlier this morning, is now under anti- aircraft gunfire.

Sarajevo's old town district has been quiet since midnight; however, sporadic shooting was reported in Grbavica. [passage omitted]

Izetbegovic Reiterates Charges Against Serbia

LD1206184192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1715 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Text] United Nations, 12 Jun (TANJUG)—Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic sent a letter to the UN secretary general and the UN Security Council chairman informing them that regardless of all statements and information launched by the Belgrade regime and former Yugoslav Army, the aggression against Bosnia-Hercegovina is continuing and intensifying.

In the letter, which was sent today to the United Nations as an official document, Izetbegovic says that 85 percent of Bosnia-Hercegovina territory is affected by the war and that statements coming from Belgrade that it has no control over forces that "have mercilessly been killing civilians and destroying towns in Bosnia-Hercegovina are untrue."

The Army, he further stated, withdrew only a small number of officers and soldiers from Bosnia-Hercegovina leaving behind 80,000 well-armed soldiers with heavy weapons, tanks, aircraft, and missiles.

Izetbegovic also states in the letter that aircraft that are bombing Bosnian towns are taking off from air bases in Batajnica and Podgorica and that Sarajevo has been exposed to pounding from Vlasic with 185-mm howitzers and Scud missiles. After UN Security Council Resolution 757 had been endorsed, the Bosnian president says, 100 Muslims and Croats were massacred in Prijedor and Kozarac alone.

Last weekend, Izetbegovic also says in his letter, Sarajevo underwent the harshest destruction since the 16th century, when it was demolisehd by Eugene of Savoy.

Therefore, Izetbegovic says in his letter to the two top UN officials, "the United Nations and the international community should take action to protect the innocent people who are facing death from hunger and Army attacks."

"We are only a few days away from the harshest human catastrophe since World War II. We cannot wait for tomorrow without more decisive action," concludes the letter sent by President Izetbegovic to the UN secretary general and the UN Security Council chairman.

A letter from Croatian Prime Minister Franjo Greguric was circulated here which, among other things, accuses the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) of launching "aggression against Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina."

The Croatian Government, says one of the points of the letter that was published as an official UN document, is obliged to protect the lives of its citizens and the territorial integrity of its republic from attacks launched by Serbian and Montenegrin aggressors from Bosnia-Hercegovina and Montenegro and has therefore planned joint defense with Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Delegations from Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, the two newly admitted members of the United Nations, have almost in a synchronized way been conducting all actions aimed at condemning Yugoslavia in the United Nations. Zvonimir Separovic, Croatian representative to the United Nations, informed the UN Security Council about an alleged attack by Serbian chetnik forces on a Franciscan convent in Sarajevo, which is situated in another state, and about the capture of 15 monks and nine nuns, while his Bosnia-Hercegovina colleague Secerbegovic sent a letter to the same effect quoting a report from the Croatian delegation. Such a "diplomatic approach" caused numerous commentaries among observers here.

FRY Leaders 'Preoccupied' With Keeping 'Power'

LD1206201992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1757 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, June 12 (TANJUG)—The local authorities of Bosnian Krajina, a region in the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, on Friday accused the leading officials of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Serbia of taking a series of "disastrous decisions," preoccupied with how to retain power instead of being concerned with the interests of the Serbian people.

The president of the Serbian National Council of Bosnian Krajina, Vinko Stupar, said in an open letter that Yugoslav Presidency Vice- President Branko Kostic and other members of the Presidency, the president of the Republic of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic, and the Serbian Government, who had called on the Serbian side to end the fighting in the Bosnia-Hercegovina capital of Sarajevo, had in fact "accused the Serbian combatants of carrying out aggression on Bosnia-Hercegovina and joined the world political centres in satanizing the Serbian people."

Stupar said that, deciding to cut off transportation links with the territories of the Republic of Serbian Krajina and the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, those same officials had placed the Serbian people in those areas in a hopeless position.

The authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which was created on April 27 by the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro, have more than once dissociated themselves from all participants in the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina and urged them to stop the fighting.

Under a decision of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, all members of the Yugoslav Army who are citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia were withdrawn from Bosnia-Hercegovina by May 19.

The Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina comprises the parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina where Serbs make up a majority and it was proclaimed in response to the Muslim secessionism.

Bosnian Krajina is one of the five regions which make up the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Bosnian Serb Republic Orders Irregulars Disarmed

LD1306233192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1619 GMT 13 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, June 13 (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina (SR BiH) ordered on Saturday the disbanding of all illegally "armed groups and individuals" in its territory.

The SR BiH SRNA news agency reported that "armed groups and individuals must in three days place themselves uder unified command of the Serb Republic of BiH or its Ministry of Internal Affairs."

The order said that the authorities of the SR BiH "renounce" those who would continue armed activities against which legal action would be instituted.

In Bosnia-Hercegovina, hit by a three-month-old civil war, there are national armies of the three constituent

nations, but members of the Muslim-Croat forces are under joint command of the authorities of Bosnia-Hercegovina that do not have legally elected Serbs.

When a split began in Bosnia-Hercegovina over discords on its future status, those who were armed illegally were both members of the ruling coalition and members of some opposition parties together with thousands of members of all the three nations.

Some groups and individuals now act on their own, insubordinated to any command. In his May 30 report to the Security Council, UN Secretary General Butros Butros Ghali warned that this situation was posing a serious problem as regards the establishment and maintenance of lasting peace and the resumption of negotiations on the constitutional reorganization of the republic.

The decision of the SR BiH to place the activity of paramilitary formations in its territory under full control only confirms the readiness of its authorities to help conditions be generated for resumed negotiations.

To his end, Serbs agreed that the control of Sarajevo airport should be handed over to blue helmet troops—the point now being negotiated in Sarajevo—and decided on another unilateral cease- fire to take effect as of June 15.

Parliament Group Urges End to Conflict

LD1306163492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2140 GMT 11 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, June 11 (TANJUG)—The deputies of the Chamber of Citizens of the Parliament of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on Thursday [11 Jun] called on all warring sides in war-stricken Bosnia-Hercegovina to immediately stop armed conflicts and begin negotiations on the republic's constitutional arrangements which would be acceptable to all three ethnic communities.

Both chambers of the federal parliament were constituted on Thursday. The deputies were elected at multi-party elections on May 31.

The appeal for peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina, sent to the domestic and international public, most sharply condemns the employment of force against the civilian population and at the same time deep regret because of the casualties among all nationalities.

The chamber of citizens also called on all factors in the world to use their influence on the sides in the conflict to stop their hostilities and seek solutions the peaceful way.

The deputies applauded the U.N. resolution on extending the UNPROFOR's mandate to Sarajevo and expressed the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's readiness to cooperate with the United Nations and other international organizations in their efforts to find a political solution to the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Progress on UN Deployment Achieved in Krajina

AU1206145592 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Jan 92

[Report by Danko Peric—from Knin]

[Text] General Philippe Morillon, deputy commander of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] Staff in Yugoslavia, met the representatives of the [word indistinct] government, other organs of authority, and the defense bodies in Knin today.

General Philippe Morillon said that significant progress has been made in today's talks and as regards the stands of the responsible people from the United Nations. This is something that should, in his view, eliminate the fear of Serbs in the southern part of Serbian Krajina, as well as in other parts of the Republic of Serbian Krajina.

An agreement has been reached to deploy the UN and EC observers and the Krajina militia on the demarcation line and to carry out the disarmament within the so-called pink zones during the first stage of assuming the responsibility.

A cordon sanitaire will be created 5 km within the protected zones. This cordon sanitaire will be a guarantee to the Serbian population against the incursion by Croatian fighters.

Full assumption of responsibility by UNPROFOR is expected to take place in the Sector Jug between 20 and 20 June [as heard]. Zdravko Zecevic, head of the Serbian Krajina Government, today stated that a little progress was made today and that he expected full protection for the Serbian Krajina to be (?agreed) in the continuation of talks with UN representatives.

Further on UN Deployment in Krajina

LD1206180292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1616 GMT 12 Jun 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Knin, June 12 (TANJUG)—The U.N. Protection Force in Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR) will by June 25 assume full responsibility on the territories of the Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK), which is within the administrative borders of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, as UNPROFOR Deputy Commander Gen. Philippe Morillon said on Friday.

UNPROFOR observers, European Community monitors, and members of the RSK militia will be positioned along the line of conflict between Croats and Serbs on the basis of an agreement reached by UNPROFOR and RSK representatives on Friday.

The Republic of Serbian Krajina, where Serbs constitute a majority, was proclaimed in response to Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia and the reduction of Serbs in Croatia to a national minority—the two chief reasons for the outbreak of the last year's war in Croatia.

The Republic of Serbian Krajina has been placed under U.N. protection.

Gen. Morillon said he felt it was very important to guarantee the security of the civilian population inside the so-called 'pink zones,' i.e. Serb-populated border areas which have not been placed under U.N. protection.

Morrillon said that guarantees were offered that the Republic of Croatia and its army would not go into those areas.

Croatian Prime Minister Franjo Greguric indicated on Thursday, however, that 'military operations' would be launched 'to cleanse' parts of Croatia which are not protected by the U.N. peace-keeping troops.

The RSK Territorial Defense commander, Colonel-General Milan Torbica, said the local Serbian army would withdraw 'the moment the U.N. troops, E.C. monitors and members of the Krajina militia take up positions along the line of front.

'We will pull back five kilometers first and further back afterwards, until demobilization,' Gen. Torbica said.

Under the U.N. peace plan, the Serbian army is to be demobilized, leaving only the local Serbian militia, and Croatia's laws are not to be applied in the U.N-protected areas.

The blue helmets are to stay until a political solution is reached.

The UNPROFOR and RSK representatives described as an important step in the process of the establishment of peace in the respective area the Friday talks, at which agreement in principle was reached on the deployment along the line of contact between the warring side, the creation of a demilitarized corridor, the separation and the withdrawal of the warring sides.

Official Against UNPROFOR Remaining

LD1206200992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1804 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Text] Zagreb, June 12 (TANJUG)—Stjepan Mesic, a senior official of the ruling party in the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, said on Friday that after elections are held, there will no longer be any reason for the United Nations protection force (UNPROFOR) to remain in territories in Croatia now under the protection of U.N. peace-keeping forces.

Mesic, the president of the Executive Committee of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), told a news conference in Zagreb he was convinced the engagement of UNPROFOR would enable the establishing of the legal state of Croatia in "the occupied areas," that is, the holding of new elections.

"After the elections, there will be no reason for the U.N. peace- keeping force to remain in Croatia," Mesic said.

Last June, under pressure from the European Community, Mesic was elected president of the Presidency of the socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, even though the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro were against this. He held the post for less than six months, after which he stated that he had carried out his task "because Yugoslavia no longer exists."

After Croatia's decision to secede from Yugoslavia and reduce the Serbian people to a national minority, Serbs in areas where they make up a majority poulation proclaimed their own independent territories. Following fierce armed clashes, the United Nations sent a peacekeeping force to the territories with the task of protecting the local population.

Serbs in the territories under UNPROFOR protection are also advocating elections or a referendum in which they will express their reasons that their territories should not remain within the administrative borders of Croatia.

U.S. Policy Shift, Serbian Sanctions Viewed

AU1206183492 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jun 92 p 15

[Commentary by Pjer Simunovic: "Ruination of Belgrade Follows"]

[Text] The imposition of the toughest embargo and the UN isolation of Belgrade suggest that in a delayed race with time, the leading international factors, particularly the United States, have finally estimated that the greater Serbian aggression has become too dangerous for the wider regional security and that Milosevic, his regime, Serbia, Montenegro, and generally the concept of greater Serbian politics had to be punished for all the crimes they have so far committed.

So it becomes certain that the punishing will be aimed at the most fundamental changes in order to prevent any future rebirth of the greater Serbian aggression, which now can absolutely not be forgiven.

The United States long defended their sad inactivity with the explanation that their vital interests were not jeopardized in this crises. However, by Serbia's guilt alone, the situation developed towards the most dangerous of scenarios—"the spilling over" of the conflict outside the borders of the former Yugoslavia. Several days ago in Sofia and Tirana, Baker's deputy, Eagleburger, listened to his new friends' fears of "the spilling over", as did the reliable American ally, British Prime Minister Major in Budapest.

The catastrophic scenario would open the possibility to some war alliances, which could ignite the wider region and dangerously impair the powerful Western alliance (by a Turkish-Greek conflict). This is the nightmare the United States has feared from the outbreak of the war, and President Bush could not allow Belgrade to make it reality.

Washington had to initiate the punishment of militant Serbia because of the pressure by the Islamic world, to which the greater Serbian genocide against Muslims in Bosnia-Hercegovina is unbearable. Also, a satisfactory framework for action had to be given to strong Turkey, whose interest and security sphere—harmonized with the American one—includes the Balkans, the Middle East, and Asia. For self-aware Ankara, the greater Serbian war rampage in Bosnia-Hercegovina is absolutely intolerable—for security, political, psychological, and social reasons.

Deputy Secretary of State Eagleburger significantly established in Tirana that Serbia had become the factor of destabilization in Europe. That was a vital shift from the previous way of thinking of the United States and other world powers that Belgrade—or some sort of a "Yugoslavia" or a Serbian-Montenegrin state—could be a factor of regional security.

The crucial influence on the shift in the American attitude toward this security question was the positive side—Croatia's political, military, and state persuasiveness, which has clearly shown that Croatia can and wants to be that desired factor of regional stability. Amazing toughness and endurance has been displayed to the world by the young state of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia's strategic ally in breaking greater Serbian aggression.

Serbia has shown itself to be an aggressor and a threat that has to be punished, condemned, suppressed, broken, and changed. The heavy burden of severe international sanctions and the threat of greater military intervention should, according to political theory, lead to dramatic changes in Serbia. Maybe even in the next few days there will be an internal explosion, an internal destruction of an aggressive state that is prevented from expanding and forced from all sides to retreat and to finally face itself.

Serbo-Chetnik Stronghold in Mostar Taken

LD1206183292 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Text] Members of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] from Citluk today captured another important Serbo-chetnik stronghold—Slipcici—in the Mostar municipality. According to information from the HVO war headquarters in Citluk, the following Chetnik strongholds were freed: Zaseoci, Milicevici, Dzede, Gradina, Skore, Vlaka, and defenders reached Buna. Bacevici was freed at 0900 and the entire area on the right bank of the Neretva was freed at 1100. Large quantities of weapons and ammunition were seized in the operation.

Mostar Loses Two More Bridges to Serb Irregulars

LD1306221192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 1233 GMT 13 Jun 92

[Text] Mostar is now without two further bridges, which were destroyed by Serb irregulars. The only connection between the western and eastern sides of the old city is the old town bridge.

Troops Torture Serbs Held in Concentration Camps

LD1306223992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1123 GMT 13 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, June 13 (TANJUG)—The 700 Serbs detained in a concentration camp in Odzak, a town in the northeast of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, are being tortured in unthinkable ways by members of military formations of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, and some have died of beating and torment.

This testimony by Sinisa Vujovic, a 21-year-old Serb who managed to escape from the Odzak Concentration Camp, is published on Saturday by the Belgrade daily POLITIKA EKSPRES.

Vujinovic, whose front teeth were knocked off by Croatian police, says that the detained Serbs are beaten daily and that their only food is a piece of bread and a cup of tea.

'Entire families are imprisoned there. Brothers are forced to beat one another until they pass out, while their fathers watch it', he says.

'Croatian soldiers forced three sons of Vid Savic to beat their father mercilessly every day', says Vujinovic.

POLITIKA EKSPRES recalls that an International Red Cross team recently warned about the extremely difficult situation of the 700 Serbs detained in Odzak.

Croatian troops and irregulars have committed an act of aggression on the northeastern parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the predominantly Croat-populated region of Western Hercegovina, with the aim of annexing by force these parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina which was recognized by the European Community on April 7.

Thousands of Serbs are also being kept prisoner in concentration camps in Konjic, a town in central Bosnia-Hercegovina, at Orasje and Tomislavgrad in western Hercegovina, in the Bradina Tunnel near Sarajevo and in other places controlled by Muslim-Croat forces.

The prisoners are mostly women and children.

Report of Shell Attacks on Dubrovnik Suburb

LD1506095892 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Text] One hour ago, the chetniks from Trebinje municipality started a mortar attack on Rijeka Dubrovacka [Dubrovnik suburb]. Ten shells landed above the residential area of Nova Mokosica, but there were no casualties. Numerous enemy ships were seen this morning off the coast of Cavtat, which is still occupied.

3,858 Dead, 20,000 Wounded Since Start of War

LD1506095492 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0805 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Text] According to the latest casualty figures released by Croatian health authorities, since the start of the war in the Republic 3,858 people have been killed and more than 20,000 wounded. More than a third of the fatalities and a half of the wounded were members of the Croatian Army and the number of wounded includes 380 children.

Domljan Interviewed on Relations With Serbia

AU1506080292 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 11 Jun 92 p 6

[Interview with Zarko Domljan, chairman of the Croatian Parliament, by Juraj Alner; place and date not given: "'The Common State' Was a Failed Experiment"]

[Excerpts] Croatia and Slovenia have become members of the United Nations recently. Zarko Domljan, chairman of the Croatian parliament, granted us an interview on this occasion.

[Alner] Let me begin with a purely pragmatic question. From where is the new country getting qualified diplomats in order to practically implement its sovereignty?

[Domljan] We lack professionals in all areas. This is one of our most serious problems. We have been a minority so far. Some 60 percent of the Yugoslav diplomats were Serbs. As recently as last year, there were 27 diplomats, and 18 of them were Serbs. We must keep a number of representatives of the former regime in their positions. However, we are facing strong opposition from our countrymen who emigrated abroad, since these people worked against them in the past. In Bonn, we kept two ministerial advisers, but under the opponents' pressure we had to recall them. In Chile and France, we had people who helped our cause even before then. Of course they stayed. [passage omitted]

[Alner] You were in a state of war with Serbia. How do you plan to adjust your relations in the future?

[Domljan] It is impossible to imagine today that someone would not cooperate with his neighbors. We request, first of all, that Serbia recognize Croatia. Croatia should be paid for war reparations. Minorities rights should be recognized. Only then can we talk.

[Alner] You are not holding any talks now, however.

[Domljan] We are not. It is impossible. Also, it is impossible psychologically.

[Domljan] The peace conference in Brussels should be a mediator. Will you respect its decisions?

[Alner] In Brussels, it must be decided, above all, who is the successor state to Yugoslavia and how to divide the property of the former state. We are against the trend to automatically recognize Serbia as the successor. I even

believe that Serbia has no right to keep the name Yugoslavia. We did invent this name a long time ago, and at the time Yugoslavia was established, Croatia was very active. [passage omitted]

[Alner] It is impossible to reestablish a functioning federation after the civil war, which is still going on.

[Domljan] It is impossible. We have our own state and we will stick to this solution. Maybe we will establish a confederation with Bosnia-Hercegovina. The common state was a failed experiment. [passage omitted]

Party Says Coexistence With Serbs Possible

LD1306121692 Budapest MTI in English 0724 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Text] Budapest, June 12 (MTI)—"Coexistence with the Serbs is necessary and possible. The Croatian Democratic Party would not approve special status for the mentioned minority. We demand that the Serbs have the same national minority rights as those of other minorities, but not ones which could endanger the unity of Croatia," said Marko Veselica, president of the Croatian Democratic Party, in an interview carried in Friday's "PESTI HIRLAP".

Veselica will oppose Franjo Tudjman, the serving president, in the Croatian presidential elections.

The Croatian politician noted that the use of the mother language, in other words, cultural independence should be ensured to the Serbs in Croatia, but not actual autonomy or the status of an independent state.

"Discussing cooperation or coexistence is extremely difficult as long as the peace talks are in progress, as long as the criminals do not receive suitable punishment, as long as the settlement of damage caused by the war is not cleared up, and as long as Serbia does not significantly change its aggressive policy. Croatia has formed an organic part of Europe's area, culture and history ever since the Croats migrated into the region. Croatia has extremely close ties with Italy, Austria and Hungary. Cooperating with central Europe, Croatia can prove that it accords to its historical role," Marko Veselica said.

Human Rights Committee Protests Persecution

LD1306190392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1148 GMT 11 Jun 92

[Text] Zagreb, 11 Jun (TANJUG)—The Croatian Committee for the Protection of Human Rights protested against en mass criminal persecution of journalists and opposition leaders who are not toeing the official line, just for expressing public opinions, that is, for the so-called verbal offense. Contrary to Croatian Government, which pledges to respect European and other international documents on human rights and freedoms. The protest stresses: "Vladimir Seks, public prosecutor of the Republic of Croatia, first announced via public media and then set in motion criminal investigation and charges against Tanja Torbarina [GLOBUS correspondent], Jelena Lovric [DANAS correspondent], Boris Dezulovic [SLOBODNA DALMACIJA correspondent], Viktor Ivancic [SLOBODNA DALMACIJA correspondent], Predrag Lucic [SLOBODNA DALMACIJA correspondent], Denis Kuljis [GLOBUS correspondent], Ivan Zvonimir Cicak [opposition leader], Dobroslav Paraga [leader of the Croatian Party of Rights], and Milorad Pupovac [leader of moderate Serbs in Croatia]."

The Croatian Committee for the Protection of Human Rights characterized the prosecutor's intervention as "an attempt to suffocate the freedom of thought and expression" so that "the monopoly over the public opinion is established with the aim of benefiting the ruling party, the Croatian Democratic Community, whose vice chairman is the mentioned public prosecutor."

Red Cross Appeals for Humanitarian Aid

LD1306101392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1644 GMT 12 Jun 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, June 12 (TANJUG)—The Red Cross of the Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK) appealed on Friday to the International Red Cross and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to do everything in their power to enable the delivery of humanitarian aid supplies to the population of RSK, who are in a complete traffic blockade.

"The lives of the ailing and the helpless, 20 premature babies, 250 patients who depend on dialysis, 300,000 refugees and socially threatened people depend on you," the appeal said.

The RSK was proclaimed by Serbs in areas where they are a majority population in the administrative borders of Croatia in response to Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia and the reduction of the Serbs to a national minority. The territory of the RSK is under U.N. protection.

The population of Krajina has been under a complete traffic blockade for nearly a year. Croatian authorities are not permitting the delivery of humanitarian aid across territory they control. The only link with the world, via Belgrade, has been cut for three months due to the ethnic war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Land in the southern part of the RSK is barren and rocky and supplying food for the population is a serious problem.

The Yugoslav leftist movement, the Popular Front of Yugoslavia, said on Friday it was pleased by the fact that the U.N. and the European Community (E.C.) were trying to secure the opening of the Sarajevo Airport for humanitarian aid supplies for all the suffering people in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The Popular Front appealed on the U.N. and the E.C. to "do everything to create possibilities for humanitarian aid to be delivered to the population of the Knin Krajina also."

"It is a shameful fact that in an area under the control of UNPROFOR people should be exposed to such kind of torture"—lack of food and medicines.

Dalmatian Opposition Parties Attack HDZ

92BA1045A Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 29-30 May 92 p 2

[Article by V.I. Capljina: "Totalitarianism of the Ruling Party"—first paragraph is SLOBODNA DALMACIJA introduction]

[Text] The SSH [League of Socialists of Croatia], the SDP [Party of Democratic Changes], and DA [Dalmation Action] on the authorities' attack against SLOBODNA and its journalists; the blow against SLOBODNA DALMACIJA is not only an act against democracy as such, but also an act against the interests of the Republic of Croatia, because it spoils its democratic image in the world, as emphasized in the joint communique from the three opposition parties.

Split, 28 May—"The opposition parties of Dalmatia express their very deep anger and concern over the pogrom that has begun against certain Croatian journalists, against whom indictments are being issued and investigations are being opened. We consider such a practice completely inappropriate for a democratic society, and an expression of the totalitarian practice in ruling that is being increasingly imposed by the ruling party." This is emphasized in the public communique from today's meeting of the three opposition parties that are also regionally organized at the level of Dalmatia—the League of Socialists of Croatia, the SDP, and DA. It was also pointed out that "in addition to the attempt to silence brave, democratic, independent, and liberal journalists, the ruling party is also preparing to settle accounts with entire newspapers, as demonstrated by its latest attacks and threats against the newspaper SLOBODNA DALMACIJA," through which it is "attempting to establish complete control over the media, as is already being achieved with HTV [Croatian television]; this will essentially block and halt the democratization of Croatian society."

The threats of repression against SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, as well as the initiation of repressive measures against its journalists—the communique states—"which occurred after the press conference of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] also indicate an impermissible connection between politics and the state and judicial authorities, which destroys and jeopardizes the building of a law-governed state from the start." The blow against the Split newspaper, because of its exceptional reputation, is "not only an act against democracy as such, but also an act against the interests of the Republic of Croatia, because it spoils its democratic image in the world." The communique therefore raises the following question: "Is the ruling party putting its own interests in holding power ahead of Croatia's interests?"

Marinko Spika, president of the Dalmatian SSH, said at the meeting that it was not by chance that the persecution of newspapers and journalists was being intensified precisely in a situation in which new elections had been announced, thus jeopardizing the democratic procedure and atmosphere in which they ought to be held. "The witch hunt that has been started by newly enthroned state prosecutor Vladimir Seks," Spika said, "shows that the ruling party is creating room for the totalitarian practice that we thought had ended up irrevocably in the dustbin of history. I think that it is completely clear how the ruling party has used the FERAL TRIBUNE case to try to settle accounts with SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, and not to protect the reputation of the president of the Republic, which will be jeopardized long before that by the undemocratic conduct of the state that he heads."

Zoran Fistonic, the president of the Dalmatian SDP, recognized in what was happening a process that was constantly directed against the freedom of public speech. "For example, how is it being proved that SLOBODNA DALMACIJA is a 'Yugo-unitarist' and 'enemy' newspaper? Only by the fact that it is not inclined to be an apologist for the ruling party! It is indicative that the HDZ is not using the force of arguments, but rather the arguments of force. Furthermore, even in the case of the FERAL TRIBUNE, we have to compare ourselves to the West, which we swear by so much. Let us recall, for example, how Margaret Thatcher, at the peak of her power, was treated on British television and in the newspapers."

Mira Ljubic-Lorger, the president of DA, emphasized that the protest should also be extended against the practice of persecuting opposition intellectuals who were not journalists, and who obviously bothered the authorities so that they wanted to remove them from the public scene, as was the case with Milorad Pupovac.

[Box, p 2]

Condemnation of the Crime

The representatives of the three opposition parties jointly condemned the "crudest crime in the history of mankind committed against the innocent and hungry population of Sarajevo by the Serbian terrorists," for which "part of the guilt is also borne by the people of Russia, headed by Minister Kozyrev and his chief, Yeltsin."

"We call upon the socialists of Europe and the European Parliament to undertake urgent measures to protect the innocent population from the brutal and criminal savagery of the Cetniks and their assistants, the Yugoslav army," the communique says.

Federal

Ministry Blames Muslims for Attack on UN Convoy

LD1206212792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1856 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, June 12 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Ministry said on Friday [12 June] the attack on a convoy of U.N. vehicles two days ago near the Bosnia-Hercegovina (BiH) capital of Sarajevo was yet another attempt by Moslem extremists to speed up foreign military intervention in the BiH.

The ministry called on the international community to counter such attempts.

Making the appeal, the ministry wanted once more to point out that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SRJ) has no other interests in this crisis, apart from an establishment of a just and lasting peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina on the basis of a speedy consensus on constitutional arrangements of all three warring sides (Serbs, Moslems and Croats) at the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina, the statement said.

The ministry drew attention also to the fact that the "attack on the convoy of the UNPROFOR vehicles occurred in the zone controlled by the Moslem 'green berets'" and that the "convoy headed by Gen. Mackenzie found a safehaven at the barracks in Lukavica, within the zone of responsibility of the Army of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina."

Milosevic Nominated for Federal President

LD1506032992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2223 GMT 14 Jun 92

[Text] Novi Pazar, June 14 (TANJUG)—The citizens society RAS [expansion unknown] in Novi Pazar, town in Serbia, proposed on Sunday [14 June] that Slobodan Milosevic should be president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SRJ), a society spokesman said.

The proposal was signed by 1,270 citizens in the Novi Pazar principality.

The election law provides for the indispensable consent for nomination to be received from the person proposed.

RAS said that the citizens who signed the proposal had "unlimited trust in Slobodan Milosevic who had with his hitherto activity and results proved his abilities and who is by far the most prominent personality in Yugoslavia."

Kostic Declines FRY Presidency Nomination

LD1406163692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1611 GMT 14 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, 14 June (TANJUG)—TANJUG received today the following message signed by Dr. Branko Kostic from the office of the Yugoslav Presidency vice president:

I cannot accept the candidacy for president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, despite the fact that we are facing a heavy battle for its preservation.

The lack of moral credibility on the part of the largest number of my political opponents and the wreckers of Yugoslavia was my strongest weapon in fighting them and in striving for the preservation of Yugoslavia.

By accepting the candidacy without the support of my party's leadership, I would lose that powerful weapon which our people holds in high esteem. I would not be able to clear myself of the stigma that I had violated some basic moral norms because of the function.

My gratitude goes to the (parliamentary) deputy group of the Serb Radical Party [Srpska Radikalna Stranka] and Mr. Seselj for their nomination.

I also thank the Yugoslav Democratic Bloc for the initiative they have set in motion.

My decision to refuse the nomination does not imply that I have abandoned the struggle for Yugoslavia, which will not be an easy one. It has been motivated exclusively by moral reasons.

Of course, I will remain part of those political forces and the majority of this nation who are prepared to persevere in the struggle for Yugoslavia.

Author Cosic Proposed as Presidential Candidate

LD1406111692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2049 GMT 13 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade June 13 (TANJUG)—The branch of the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) in the town of Valjevo on Saturday [13 June] decided to propose Serbian author and academician Dobrica Cosic as president of Yugoslavia.

The SPS branch in Valjevo believes that Yugoslavia's greatest prose writer will unite all national forces by his authority and standing at home and abroad and thus secure a solution to the Yugoslav crisis. The committee intends to send Cosic a written request to accept the candidacy.

Competment organs of the Yugoslav Parliament on Saturday received another two proposals for Dobrica Cosic to be a candidate for president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY). Apart from the Valjevo socialists, in support of this candidacy are the Peasant-Workers' Party of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, the Social Democratic Party of Yugoslavia and the Association of Serbs from Croatia in Belgrade, which initiated the proposal for Cosic to be elected head of state.

The Chamber of Republics and the Chamber of Citizens of the federal parliament during their sessions on Monday should elect the president of FRY, which now includes Serbia and Montenegro.

The presidential candidates include Svetozar Marovic, general secretary of the ruling Democratic Party of

Socialists in Montenegro which proposed him, and Branko Kostic, vice-president of the presidency of the former Yugoslavia, who was proposed by the leadership of the Serbian Radical Party. Kostic has still not accepted the candidacy.

The deadline for proposing presidential candidates at the federal parliament expires at midnight on Sunday.

Company Head Proposed for Prime Minister

LD1406125492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1151 GMT 14 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, June 13 (TANJUG)—Milan Panic, president of ICN company of California and of the U.S.-Yugoslav joint company ICN-Galenika of Belgrade, is a potential candidate for prime minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY).

An initiative for his candidacy was launched in consultations on Saturday [13 June] between President of the Republic of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic, presidents of the leading political parties represented in the Yugoslav Parliament—leader of the Socialist Party of Serbia Borisav Jovic and leader of the Serbian Radical Party Vojislav Seselj—and representatives of trade and industry.

A statement released after the meeting said the proposal had also been upheld by the leadership of Montenegro, the other republic which makes up the FRY.

Galenika, the largest pharmaceutical plant in Yugoslavia and a leading European firm in production of medicaments, and ICN merged two years ago.

Panic, a Serb, studied in Yugoslavia and the United States, where he graduated and won master's degree in chemistry.

The proposal to nominate Panic as candidate for the office will be discussed by the parliamentary parties prior to being sent to the president of the FRY after he is elected on Monday.

The parliament of the FRY was constituted on Thursday, following the elections held on May 31.

Three potential candidates have been put foward so far for president of the FRY—well-known Serbian writer Dobrica Cosic, vice-president of the state presidency of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Branko Kostic, and general secretary of the Democratic Party of Socialists, the ruling party in Montenegro, Svetozar Marovic.

Serbia

Demonstration Demands Milosevic Resignation

LD1406162292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1450 GMT 14 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, 14 June (TANJUG)—Our main goal is the demise of the current regime and its war policy and the rebirth of peace and democracy. This was stressed at anti-war demonstrations in Belgrade today, called the Last Bell, which were attended by several thousand people and organized by the Citizens' Alliance of Serbia [Gradjanski savez Srbije], the Belgrade Circle [Beogradski krug], Women in Black [Zene u crnom] (mothers, wives, sisters...), the united trade unions Independence, and the Center for Anti-war Actions.

At a rally in front of the Yugoslav Assembly, the demonstrators rang bells and tinkled keys in support of a demand for the resignation of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and demanded that negotiations between the opposition and authorities start tomorrow "to set up a roundtable to find a way out of the common misfortune."

The rally moved from the Bulevar Revolucije Street toward the buildings of the Serbian Presidency and the Republican Assembly and ended after three hours, at approximately 1540 [1340 GMT] in Dimitrije Tucovic Square.

Students Hold Protest Rally 15 Jun

LD1506125992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1239 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Jun (TANJUG)—Over 10,000 students today gathered at a protest rally in Students' Square in Belgrade to demand the resignation of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, the dissolution of the republic's parliament, the formation of a national salvation government, elections leading to a constitutional parliament, and a strike at Belgrade University.

The beginning of the protest rally was marked by a minute of silence "for all the victims of this war." The Branko Krsmanovic Academic and Cultural Society's choir sang "God of Justice" and the international academic anthem "Gaudeamus Igitur."

Afterward, the students of Belgrade University read out their declaration, which says that "the current authorities have failed in every sphere" and that "there is no sphere in which they have done anything positive."

Bozovic Says Sanctions Not Aimed at 'True Culprits'

LD1206224792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2153 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, June 12 (TANJUG)—The sanctions the United Nations imposed against Yugoslavia were not aimed at the true culprits of the war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina (BiH) and "thereby cannot stop this war," said Radoman Bozovic, premier of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, on Friday [12 June].

Speaking of the threat of military intervention in Yugoslavia in an interview to the Italian state televison—RAI, Bozovic said these were "pressures aimed at causing fear among the population, strengthening the position of the

Serbian opposition and creating conditions for a possible takeover of power through illegal means."

Asked how the Serbian Government was reacting to the calls of a part of the Serbian opposition for Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Bozovic's government to resign, the Serbian premier said the U.N. sanctions were "designed to support the opposition parties, which failed to turn up at the elections in Yugoslavia on May 31, and were seeking a change of government outside the legal institutions."

Bozovic warned that frustrating the reforms in the Yugoslav economy could have the most damaging effect the U.N. sanctions could produce. This was why the Serbian Government, he explained, was not introducing too many administrative interventions in the economy for the time being but was carrying out a pragmatic program to alleviate the consequences of the economic blockade.

Government on Refusal of Albanian Parties To Meet

LD1406113992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1802 GMT 11 Jun 92

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 11 Jun (TANJUG)—The Government of the Republic of Serbia notes with regret that it received only five replies, and all of them negative, to its call for representatives of the political parties and movements of the Albanian nationality in Kosovo to take part in a meeting convened for 11 June. The Albanian Democratic Christian Party [Albanska demohriscanska partija], the Kosovo Democratic Christian Alliance [Demohriscanski savez Kosova], the Kosovo Social Democratic Party [Socijaldemokratska partija Kosova], the Union of Independent Trade Unions of Kosovo [Unija nezavisnih sindikata Kosova], and the Party of Fehatare [word unknown] of Kosovo were the only ones to reply.

A statement of the Serbian Government stresses that the rejection of the dialogue by Albanian represntatives from Kosovo and Metohija and specifically the accompanying explanation, clearly showed their intentions and unsustainable political views. [passage omitted]

The statement then stresses that the government of the Republic of Serbia would continue to champion constructive dialogue with Albanian representatives from Kosovo and Metohija, and it will continue to be ready to offer the Albanian minority all rights envisaged in international acts. At the same time, it appeals to the international community to help the establishment of an objectively acceptable dialogue.

Kosovo

Soldier Killed by Sniper in Djakovica Barracks

LD1306112492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0818 GMT 13 Jun 92

[Text] Djakovica, 13 Jun (TANJUG)—According to unofficial but reliable information, at about 2000 [1800 GMT] on the night of 12 June, an unidentified person fired at a group of soldiers in the Djakovica military barracks, fatally wounding one soldier. The soldier died on the way to the hospital.

The group of soldiers, who were playing basketball in the barracks, were fired at from the direction of the hospital, on the other side of the Erenik river. Members of the army and police immediately blocked off the part of the town from which the shot was fired, in order to find the murderer, who, it is thought, clearly wanted to provoke the army.

There is no news about casualties resulting from the response from the barracks. The atmosphere in Djakovica is fairly tense again today [13 June].

An official statement on this incident is expected to be issued today.

Command Issues Statement

LD1306171492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1252 GMT 13 Jun 92

[Text] Pristina, 13 Jun (TANJUG)—The Command of the Pristina Corps today issued the following statement in connection with an armed attack on soldiers in the Djakovica barracks last night, where soldier Milan Mijailovic was killed:

"Around 2000 [1800 GMT] on 12 June 1992 an armed attack on soldiers in the barracks in Djakovica was carried out, to which the barracks security service, soldiers, and policemen reacted promptly by firing back, and, according to unconfirmed details, wounded a number of persons.

"Soldier Milan Mijailovic from Ub [Serbia], who was playing basketball with his friends on the barracks sports grounds when the attack was launched, was killed. The attack did not claim any other casualties among the soldiers and officers in the barracks.

"Officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Serbia and the military police of the Pristina Corps are carrying out an investigation to identify and arrest the perpetrators of this treacherous crime.

"It is our assessment that the attack was carefully planned and carried out as a Catholic mass was being celebrated on the occasion on St. Anthony's Day in a church situated near the barracks. The attack was aimed at causing incidents of larger proportions and at presenting to the international public that the army and bodies of the Republic of Serbia are maltreating ethnic Albanians.

"The Command of the Pristina Corps is hereby calling on citizens of Kosovo and Metohija not to be deceived by rumors and provocations in connection with this incident. We would also like to stress that we will adequately reply to any similar provocation in the future," the statement of the Pristina Corps Command concludes.

Tirana Claims Army Shot Churchgoers

AU1306152892 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 13 Jun 92

[Text] According to the Information Center of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance [LDK], a group of Serbian soldiers entered the Gjakove Catholic Church in Kosovo during a religious ceremony after 2000 [1800 GMT] on 12 June and began to shoot at ethnic Albanians. Several dozen people were wounded. There is no report of deaths. Serbian civilians are located at a garrison of the Yugoslav Army. Before this event, shots were heard and observed in the garrison located near the church. There is fear that a massacre has been planned against the unprotected Albanian population. It is reported that the city of Gjakove [Djakovica] is surrounded by Army forces. No one is allowed to leave or enter the city, the LDK Information Center reports.

Casualties Reported

AU1406194192 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 14 Jun 92

[Text] The Kosovo Democratic Alliance's Information Center reports that shooting began in the Emin Duraku Barracks in Gjakove [Djakovica], where Serbian police are also stationed, at about 1930 the evening before last [1730 GMT 12 June], and it continued for about 40 minutes. At this time, the high mass of St. Anthony was being celebrated in the nearby Catholic church, attended by a large number of Albanian believers. There was great panic among the congregation when the shots from the barracks were heard. To avoid any provocation, the crowd that had gathered for the festival began to disperse but was obstructed by the large police and Army forces that had in the meantime blocked the main road.

Members of the congregation were mistreated and beaten, and shots were fired in the direction of the crowd. At the scene of the incident, Gjyste Mark Ndou, born in 1934, received serious gunshot wounds, and the Croatian priest Ilija Kovacevic, born in 1947; Kole Dreni, born in 1962; and Zef Dreni, born in 1932, were also wounded. Time Ndoc Jaku, born in 1949, also received gunshot wounds, although she was a long way from the church and the barracks. According to her statements, the bullet that wounded her came from a nearby hill where Serbian soldiers, policemen, and armed volunteers often conduct exercises. The number of those wounded in the incident the evening before last is apparently larger, but those with less serious injuries have not reported to the hospital for fear of mistreatment by the Serbian militia and Army.

The Serbs destroyed many Albanian-owned cars and premises. Five Albanian houses in Gjakove are still surrounded. During the night, the Serbian Army and police also blockaded the town's hospital and [word indistinct]. The British reporter Charles Nyman, who had been at the church at the time, was taken to the police station.

Meanwhile groups of (?reinforcements) have been noticed around Gjakove. At the barracks, Private Milan Mihajlovic, born in Pozarevac in 1973, was killed.

The latest reports from Gjakove state that the members of the family of Muharrem Kurti, one of five families that were surrounded all last night, were cruelly beaten by the police, even the women and children. Five members of this family were seriously injured during the police beatings. The LDK Information Center reports that the police tried to force Muharrem Kurti to leave his home, threatening him with the liquidation of his family.

ATA's local correspondent reports that after the serious provocations of the Serbian Army in which Albanians were wounded, beaten, and mistreated, and Albanian houses were raided, the situation appears more normal in Gjakove today. Traffic is flowing normally, but police vehicles have established checkpoints at some points in the town. Roads leading to border villages, which had been blocked by military and police forces, were also unblocked today.

According to reports from [words indistinct] in Gjakove, the murder of the soldier Milan Mihajlovic was the result of a quarrel inside the Serbian Army barracks.

Rugova Wants UN, EC Representation at Talks

LD1306205192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1852 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Text] Pristina, June 12 (TANJUG)—Ibrahim Rugova, the leader of the opposition party of ethnic Albanians living in the Serbian province Kosovo—the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo (DSK), on Friday [12 June] said that talks with the Serbian authorities can be held only in the presence of European Community and United Nations representatives.

DSK and other ethnic Albanian parties turned down the invitation to dialogue forwarded them by the Serbian Government on Tuesday [9 June]. They are dissatisfied because the talks are not expected to be held on the 'basis of equality of the two states' institutions'.

The Serbian Government wants the dialogue to be based on European and international documents on national minority rights.

The Serbian Government on Thursday called on the international community to support the beginning of an objectively acceptable dialogue with ethnic Albanians in Kosovo.

The Serbian authorities are prepared to discuss everything with ethnic Albanians but the secession of Kosovo.

The CSCE committee report, which denies allegations that the rights of Albanians in Kosovo are threatened and that the province is increasingly militarized, is not true, Rugova said.

The CSCE mission, which visited Kosovo in May, 'was not able to see in Kosovo what Albanians know', he said.

Parties of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, who urge the province's secession from Serbia and annexation to Albania, want to achieve their aim by trying to convince the general public that Kosovo Albanians are allegedly endangered.

Albanians in Kosovo have their own press, radio and TV programs and are guaranteed schooling in their mother tongue. They held the highest party and state posts in Serbia and former Yugoslavia, including the posts of president and vice-president of the collective head of state.

Party leaders of Albanians, who make up the majority in Kosovo and 15 percent of Serbia's population, have boycotted Serbia's political life for the past two years.

Rugova assessed the 'developments in Belgrade' as positive and added that "hat Albanians have wished for is taking place'. He failed to specify, however, what he meant by that.

Discusses 'Repression' in Republic

AU1306143392 Tirana ATA in English 0848 GMT 13 Jun 92

[Text] Tirana, June 13 (ATA)—As reported by the Information Center of the Democratic League of Kosovo, the chairman of the Democratic League of Kosovo, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said, among other things in his press conference, that the grave situation and repression against the Albanians in the Republic of Kosovo continues. Recently the prosecutions of the activists of the Democratic League of Kosovo, as well as of the other Albanian political parties who have contributed to the May 24 elections, have been intensified. The people's maltreatment continues as previously.

In continuation Dr. Rugova thanked for the visit and report of the mission of the Vienna-based center for preventing conflicts, for the essential report regarding historic and political problems here in Kosovo. Whereas as regards to the military situation, the mission has observed what it could.

The forces around Kosovo as well as the Serb civil population, which is legally being armed every day, may be very dangerous. Dr. Rugova repeated the demand not to include Kosovo in the sanctions and for humanitarian and other aid which will be increasingly necessary for the people of Kosovo.

In continuation Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said that we welcome the observers' commission to come to Kosovo on the basis of the CSCE decision. The regular observers, either of the CSCE or UNO should be established here to observe the situation in Kosovo, which is considered dangerous both by the CSCE and other institutions.

Dr. Sali Berisha's visit to the U.S.A. is very important, Dr. Rugova said. Dr. Berisha is among the first leaders and government heads of the Eastern countries to visit the U.S.A. and meet with President Bush only two months after the elections. This visit is very important also for our question, the Kosovar issue and numerous questions of the Balkan region.

Macedonia

Gligorov Sends Letter to EC on Recognition

LD1406182492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1724 GMT 14 Jun 92

[Text] Sbje, June 14 (TANJUG)—President of Macedonia Kiro Gligorov warned the European Community (E.C.) on Sunday [14 June] that its possible decision to recognize Macedonia under another name could result in internal destabilization of this former Yugoslav republic.

In an open letter to the President of the E.C. Council of Ministers Joao de Deus Pinheiro ahead of tomorrow's meeting, Gligorov said recognition of a state under another name which is not in accordance with the will of the people and its legitimate institutions is unprecedented.

In the letter Gligovor asked the ministers whether the E.C. will again act too late and thus leave us horrified over yet another Sarajevo. "Is it necessary for a war to break out in Macedonia and then to settle its international recognition under summary proceedings," the Macedonian president wonders.

Gligorov recalled that Macedonia had merited recognition six months ago, having met the E.C. Commission conditions.

Due to a revival of old territorial clams of neighboring peoples, this was the last moment for recognizing this republic, Gligorov warned.

Greece opposes recognizing Macedonia under its present name because it has a region of Macedonia inside its territory. The Greek Government believes that the existence of an indepedent neighboring state with the same name could mean a potential flash point of territorial disagreement.